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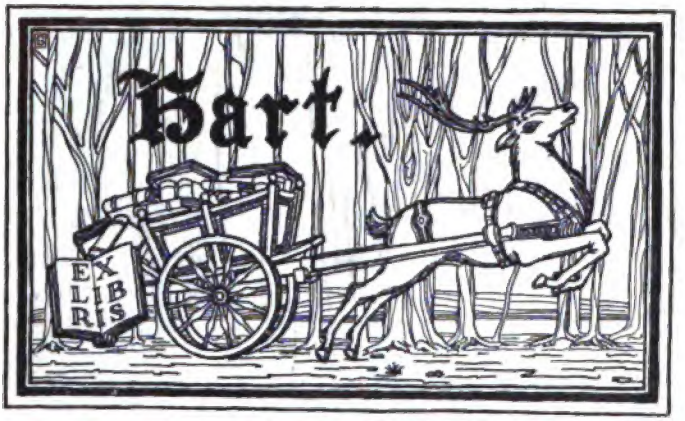

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS work follows the same general lines as the author's "Leading Facts of American History." It differs, however, from the more elementary manual in many important respects. It is much fuller in its treatment of political and constitutional history, and of the chief events bearing on the development of the nation. It quotes original documents, authorities, and standard writers on the points of greatest interest to the student and the teacher, the object being to let the history of our country speak for itself. As a help to further research, note numbers have been inserted throughout the book referring to upwards of two thousand works of acknowledged merit cited in the Appendix.

The author is particularly indebted to the Trustees and the Librarian of the Boston Athenæum for the privilege of making use of the admirable collection of books under their charge.

CONTENTS.

SECTION		PAGE
I.	The Discovery and Naming of America, 1492 to 1521	1
II.	Attempts at Exploring and Colonizing America (the Country, the Natives, Effects of the Discovery of America on Europe), 1509 to 1587	12
III.	Permanent English and French Settlements (the Thirteen Colonies, French Exploration of the West, Wars with the Indians and with the French, Colonial Life), 1607 to 1763	27
IV.	The Revolution, the Constitution, 1763 to 1789	163
V.	The Union, National Development (Presidents from Washington to Buchanan, inclusive), 1789 to 1861	219
VI.	The War of Secession, 1861 to 1865	400
VII.	Reconstruction, the New Nation, 1865 to the Present Time	465

APPENDIX.

1.	The Declaration of Independence (with an Introduction)	i
2.	The Constitution (with an Introduction and Notes)	vi
3.	Table of Admission of States	xix
4.	Table of Presidents	xxiii
5.	List of Books on American History	xxiv
6.	Authorities cited	xxx
7.	Index	xxxix

LIST OF FULL AND DOUBLE-PAGE MAPS.

FACING PAGE

1. The World about the Time of Columbus 4
2. Early Voyages 18
3. Indian Tribes East of the Mississippi 20
4. First Settlements 42
5. The French in the West 130
6. Period of the Revolution — New England (colored) 174
7. Boston and Vicinity 182
8. New York and Vicinity 188
9. Period of the Revolution — Middle Colonies (colored) 190
10. Burgoyne's Expedition; Washington's movement against Yorktown; Yorktown 192
11. Period of the Revolution — Southern Colonies (colored) . . . 200
12. Land Claims of the Colonies (colored) 206
13. Peace of 1783 (colored) 208
14. The Northwest Territory (colored) 210
15. The Province of Louisiana (colored) 230
16. The War of 1812 270
17. The Missouri Compromise Act 292
18. The Mexican War 350
19. The Area of Freedom and of Slavery 384
20. The Civil War (colored) 412
21. The Defences of Washington 414
22. The Battle of Gettysburg 436
23. The Siege of Vicksburg 440
24. Map of North America 478
25. Relief Map of the United States 480
26. Territorial Growth (colored) 505
27. The United States at the Present Time (colored) 516

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Medallion of Washington and Lincoln . . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

2. Advertisement of the "Flying Machine" 152
3. The Pennsylvania "Gazette" on the Stamp Act 166
4. Fanklin's Letter to Strahan 184
5. Signatures to the Declaration of Independence 186
6. Signatures to the Treaty of Peace of 1783 212
7. Key's "The Star Spangled Banner" 272
8. Morse's Letter respecting the First Telegram 344
9. Letter of John Brown 390
10. Secession Bulletin 394
11. Letter of Secretary Dix on the Flag 396
12. Grant's "Unconditional Surrender" Despatch 418
13. Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation 430
14. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address 438
15. Admiral Farragut's Letter from Mobile 456
16. Lee's Letter of Surrender 460

THE

STUDENT'S AMERICAN HISTORY.

For Authorities for this Chapter, see Appendix, page xxiv. *The small figures in the text refer to Authorities cited on page* xxx *of the Appendix.*

I.

THE DISCOVERY AND NAMING OF AMERICA.

(1000-1515.)

THE NORTHMEN. — COLUMBUS. — CABOT. — AMERICUS VESPUCIUS.

1. **The discovery of America by the Northmen; "Vinland the Good."** — The Scandinavians, or Northmen, were the most skillful and daring sailors of the middle ages. For them the Atlantic — "the Sea of Darkness" — had no terrors. Before the mariner's compass had come into use in Europe they made distant voyages in vessels often not so large as modern pleasure yachts. Their only guides on those perilous expeditions were the sun, the stars, and the flight of birds.

In the ninth century (875) the Northmen planted a colony in Iceland. Their sagas or traditions inform us that, late in the next century (981), Eric the Red set sail from Iceland in search of a strange land which a Norse sailor, blown out of his course, had sighted in the far west.[1] He found it, and giving it the tempting name of Greenland, lured a band of colonists to those desolate shores. In the year 1000

Leif Ericson,— later known as "Leif the Lucky," —a son of Eric the Red, set out from Greenland in quest of a land which a storm-driven mariner had seen in the southwest. He discovered a beautiful country which abounded in wild grapes. "From its products, Leif gave the land a name, and called it Vinland."[2] Here the Northmen planted a colony, and carried on trade with Greenland. In 1347 the Norse records mention a ship's going to this southern colony after a load of timber. That is the last that we hear of the settlement. The Northmen ceased to make voyages to the west, the colonies they had planted died out, all records of them were forgotten, and we have no evidence that Columbus ever heard of the discovery of Vinland.[3]

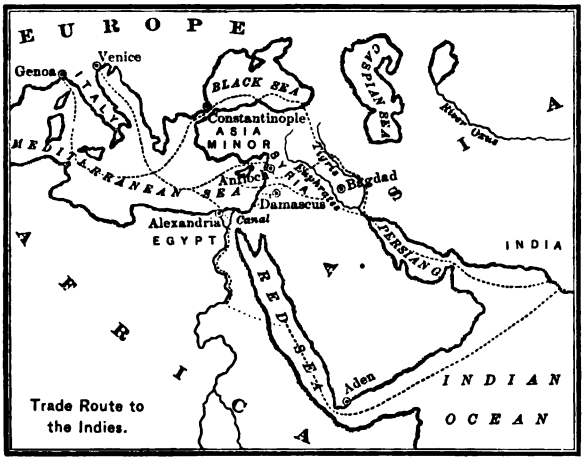
2. The locality of "Vinland"; the Northmen and American history. — In recent years repeated attempts have been made to determine[4] the locality of Vinland, but without acknowledged success. Many have supposed that Leif Ericson landed on some part of the New England coast. The descriptions of the country given by the records fail to throw any decisive light on this point, and no Norse graves, inscriptions, or ruins have been found on the mainland of America, although the ruins of buildings erected by the Northmen are still standing in Greenland. The conclusion of most eminent scholars respecting the settlements of the Northmen is that "the soil of the United States has not one vestige of their presence."[4] Granting that those bold sailors did establish colonies on the mainland of America, as it is certain they did on the coast of Greenland, still their work had no permanent results, and no direct connection with American history. It was simply a match struck in the dark, sending out a momentary flash of light, but nothing more.

Later, however, after Columbus had made his great voyage, the English descendants of the Northmen of the Scandinavian peninsula came to the front. As colonists of the New World, they set their lasting mark on this continent. Hence we may

say that the old Norse daring, which braved the tempests of the Northern Atlantic centuries before Columbus was born, and which conquered and settled a large part of Britain, stands forth a powerful and permanent factor in the making of America.[5]

3. **A new search for lands beyond the Atlantic; European trade with the Indies.** — Nearly five hundred years after Leif Ericson feasted on wild grapes in Vinland, the project of crossing the Atlantic in quest of distant lands again came up. This time it was not a Northman, but an Italian, who was to make the attempt. His venture was suggested by the demands of commerce.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century Venice had gained control of the lucrative trade between Europe and the Indies.



That trade, however, was seriously hampered by the fact that it could not follow a direct and continuous water route. The Isthmus of Suez barred the way. For this reason, the spices, silks, and drugs brought from the far East up the Red Sea had to be unloaded, transported across the desert to the Nile,

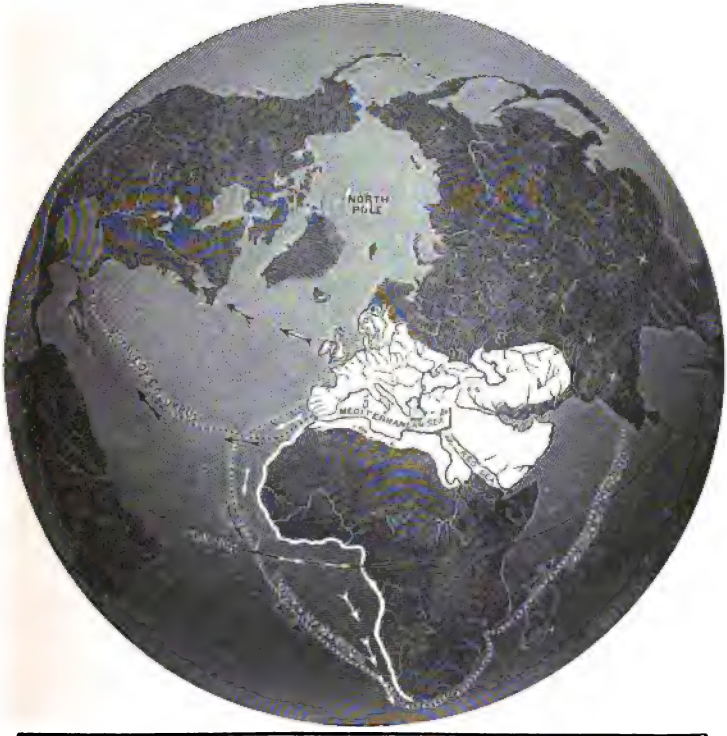
and reshipped to Alexandria for the Mediterranean.[6] Europe, in the interest of trade, called for an all-sea route to the Indies.

4. The work of "Prince Henry the Navigator"; Bartholomew Diaz. — Prince Henry of Portugal, commonly known as "Prince Henry the Navigator," undertook to find the required route. For forty years (1420–1460) his captains were exploring the seemingly endless western coast of Africa, endeavoring to discover a way round that mysterious continent into the waters of the Indian Ocean. Year after year the Portuguese ships crept down that coast, but found no passage to the East. The problem was unsolved when Henry died, but nearly thirty years later success was practically gained.[7] Bartholomew Diaz (1487) succeeded in doubling the formidable Cape of Storms. Then it was seen that at last the way to the Indies was almost as good as opened; for that reason the Cape of Storms received the auspicious name of the Cape of Good Hope. But the length of the new route was a serious drawback, since every bale of goods shipped from the East would have to make a voyage of at least twelve thousand miles in order to reach the European market. The question arose, might it not be possible to find a better way?

5. Columbus proposes a new and shorter route to the Indies. — Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, was ready to answer that question. He was an experienced mariner, and believed that he could discover a far shorter and more direct all-water route to the much-coveted Indies. The leading geographers of that day regarded the earth as a globe.[8] Columbus held the same idea, but he considered the globe to be much smaller than it actually is. It embraced, as he supposed, but one ocean — the Atlantic — which surrounded the three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. These three continents, with their outlying islands, he believed constituted all the land there was. He imagined that the Indies faced Europe at a distance of less than four thousand miles. His plan for reaching the far East was very simple; he would

THE WORLD AS KNOWN SHORTLY BEFORE AND SHORTLY AFTER THE SAILING OF COLUMBUS.

Light arrows show voyages made up to 1492; (light track, Da Gama's voyage, 1497).
Dark arrows, voyages of Columbus and Cabot.
White crosses, countries of which something was known before 1492.
White area, including western coast of Africa, the world as known shortly before the sailing of Columbus.



make for the Canaries, and then sail nearly due west, until he touched the coast of Asia.[9] Such a route would have an immense advantage over the circuitous and dangerous voyage around Africa, for it would be almost a straight line, and would save something like eight thousand miles.

6. Columbus fits out vessels for the voyage; objects of the undertaking. — After years of vain solicitation, Columbus succeeded in getting the assistance of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. He fitted out three small vessels for the voyage; of this little fleet he was to be admiral. To guide him on his course he had the compass, an improved astrolabe, or instrument for determining the position of a ship at sea by taking observations of the sun and stars, and his carefully drawn charts.[10] In this great and original undertaking Columbus was not seeking to find new lands, but a new way to reach old lands. His three chief objects were: 1. To open direct trade with the Indies. 2. To carry the Catholic faith to the nations of the far East. 3. To gain for himself fame and fortune.[11]

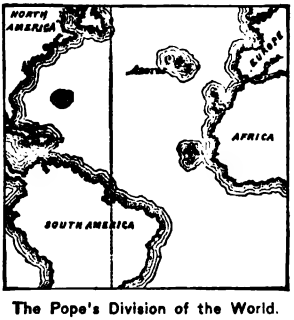
7. Columbus sails; the voyage; he discovers land and returns to Spain. — Columbus sailed from Palos, Spain, August 3, 1492. He made directly for the Canary Islands [12] which he supposed to be in a line with Japan. The route to those islands was well known. He reached them August 12, and stopped more than three weeks to refit his vessels. On September 6 he set out on his ever memorable voyage across the "Sea of Darkness." He believed himself, as he said, "an agent chosen by Heaven to accomplish a grand design."[13] Day after day passed, but no land was sighted, and the sailors, losing heart, cried out to Columbus: "Are there no graves in Spain, that you should bring us here to perish?"[14] They were terrified at the variation of the compass, and still later, becoming desperate, they threatened to turn the ship back; but Columbus compelled them to keep on their way, and on October 12, land was sighted.[15] It was the low, sandy shore of a small island.[16] Here he planted the royal standard of Spain,

named the island San Salvador — or the Holy Redeemer — and took possession of it for Ferdinand and Isabella.

The naked natives crowded round the Spaniards shouting "Come and see the men who have come from heaven." Going south Columbus discovered Cuba, which he believed to be a part of the mainland of Asia. Having left a garrison to hold a small fort on the coast of San Domingo or Hayti, he set sail for Spain (January, 1493). He was certain that he had found the Indies, and as he had reached them by sailing west, they received the name of the West Indies. For a like reason he called the natives of these islands Indians.

8. Letter of Columbus; arrival in Spain; reception at court; the Pope divides the earth. — Forced to put into Lisbon, Columbus there wrote to the royal treasurer of Spain describing his discoveries.[17] In his letter he declared that he had "accomplished a task to which the power of mortal man had never before attained." At Palos all the people, forming a solemn procession, came out to receive him, and when he arrived at the royal court at Barcelona the King and Queen stood up to give him welcome.[18]

News of the wonderful discovery was at once sent to the Pope. The "Holy Father" received the messenger with joy. As "lord of the world" he proceeded to divide the newly discovered heathen lands between Spain and Portugal, the two great exploring powers.[19] Taking a map of the globe, he drew a line from pole to pole a hundred leagues west of the Azores and of the Cape Verd Islands.[20] All lands found west of that line, not belonging to some Christian prince, he granted to Spain; all similar lands east of it he recognized as belonging to Portugal. Thus by a stroke of the pen through a map of the



The Pope's Division of the World.

world the Pope gave Spain the entire continent of North America.[21] Ferdinand and Isabella soon began to establish settlements in the West Indies and seized the natives as slaves.

9. What Columbus discovered; his death; greatness of his work. — In the course of his three subsequent voyages (1493–1504) Columbus discovered the mainland of Central and South America, but never touched any part of what is now the United States. He died in 1506 in the unshaken belief that he had discovered the eastern coast of Asia.[22] He did not dream that by a happy accident, he had actually found a fourth continent — a "new world." It has been well said: Nothing like it was ever done before, and nothing like it can ever be done again, for, save the island-continent of Australia, Columbus left no new worlds for a future explorer to reveal.

The true glory of the Genoese sailor is that he was the first civilized man who dared cross the Atlantic and thus lead the way to this fourth continent. His discovery stands forth the greatest secular event recorded in the history of the world, — one-half of which had never suspected the existence of the other half.

10. John and Sebastian Cabot plan a rival route to the Indies. — When Columbus returned to Spain at the termination of his first voyage the news of his discovery created "great talk at the court of Henry VII. in England." John Cabot, an Italian merchant, was then living at the port of Bristol. His son Sebastian says that the report of what Columbus had achieved kindled in his own heart "a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing." The "notable thing" developed itself into a project for reaching the spice islands of the Indies by sailing westward on an extreme northern course so as to pass round the "backside of Greenland."

John Cabot entered into his son's scheme with much enthusiasm, and hoped "to make London a greater place for spices than Alexandria." Henry VII. issued a patent to the elder Cabot and his sons giving them authority to discover and take

possession of those heathen lands in the west "which before this time have been unknown to all Christians."

11. **First voyage of the Cabots; second voyage; Newfoundland fisheries; results of the first voyage.** — John Cabot, probably accompanied by Sebastian, sailed from Bristol in 1497. The chief results of the voyage were set forth on a map, bearing this inscription: "In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son, Sebastian, . . . discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning."[23]

This land, which seems to have been Cape Breton,[24] received the name of Prima Vista, or First Seen. Here the Cabots landed and, hoisting the English flag, claimed the country for the British Crown. The envoy of the Duke of Milan wrote to the duke from London of this claim, saying, "His Majesty (Henry VII.) has won a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword."[25]

The next year (1498) the Cabots sailed westward again. They went much farther north in the hope of discovering a short passage to the Indies. At this point the elder Cabot disappears from history. Sebastian admits that the icebergs which blocked his way chilled his enthusiasm and made him turn southward. He coasted along the American mainland looking for a passage through to the East, until, as he says, he reached a point "almost equal in latitude with the Straits of Gibraltar."[26] He then set his face homeward.

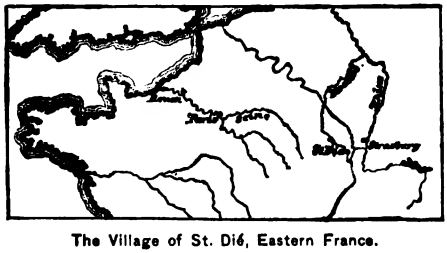
The reports made by the Cabots of the vast quantities of codfish seen by them in the vicinity of Newfoundland opened

the way to the establishment by the English and French of the largest fisheries in the world. These fisheries had a very marked influence on American colonial history, and have since given rise to important international questions.

But the crowning result of John Cabot's voyage in 1497 was that he was the first European (since the days of the Northmen) who set foot on the continent of North America. He thus, as Burke declares, gave the English their claim to the mainland. This laid the foundation for the North American colonies which Sir Walter Raleigh began in the next century.

12. The voyages of Americus Vespucius to the "New World." — In 1499 (after Columbus had made his third voyage and had discovered the mainland at the mouth of the Orinoco) Americus Vespucius, a Florentine, a friend of Columbus, sailed with a Spanish expedition which explored part of the same coast.[27] Two years later (1501) he made another voyage and touched Brazil. On his return he suggested that the lands he had visited in the south should be called the "New World."[28] The next year (1503) Vespucius again visited South America and built a fort on the coast of Brazil. On his return he wrote a brief account of his voyages, but the original manuscript has never been found.

13. How America received its name. — A copy of the account written by Vespucius chanced to fall into the hands of a German named Waldseemüller. He was a teacher of geography in the college of St. Dié — a village of Lorraine now included in eastern France. The college owned a small press; on it in 1507 Waldseemüller printed a thin Latin pamphlet bearing the title "An Introduction to Geography."[29] In



The Village of St. Dié, Eastern France.

it he described the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa ; he then gave an account of the voyages of Americus Vespucius, and closed by saying, "The fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus it may be called . . . the land of Americus or *America*."[30]

The suggestion met with favor. On a German globe made in 1515 we find America standing out in capitals on what appears to be a great southern island in the western Atlantic. The name was at first confined to South America; later it was applied to both of the western continents.

14. How it was discovered that America was a continent; Magellan; Behring. — But for a long time North America was laid down on the maps of that period as an island. The true continental character of the New World was discovered gradually.[31] Cabot and Vespucius must have suspected it, but it was not until Magellan made his famous voyage round the globe (1519–1521) that the evidence became strong. The Spanish explorers of the Pacific coast, and Sir Francis Drake, in his voyage round the world (1577–1579), confirmed that evidence. But even then the actual breadth of North America was not clearly recognized, and as late as Henry Hudson's expedition (1609), European navigators thought that they might find a short passage through the northern continent to the Pacific. In the next century Vitus Behring, the Danish explorer (1728), sailed through the straits which have since borne his name and proved that America was not attached to Asia in that quarter. In 1856 the discovery of the Northwest Passage completed this process, and showed that America is absolutely disconnected from Asia.

15. Summary. — In the year 1000 Leif Ericson, a Northman, discovered Vinland on the North American coast; but in the course of a few centuries all knowledge of Vinland was lost. In 1492 Columbus in searching for a new route to the Indies discovered the West India Islands. In 1497 John Cabot landed on the North American continent and claimed it

for the English Crown. England considered that this claim gave her the right to plant colonies in America. Between 1499 and 1503 Americus Vespucius made three voyages to the South American coast. His description of the New World suggested the name America which was given to South America, and later extended to the northern continent. The true character of North America was discovered by Magellan, Drake, the Spanish explorers of the Pacific coast, Captain Behring and his successors.

II.

ATTEMPTS AT EXPLORING AND COLONIZING AMERICA.

(1513-1600.)

For Authorities for this Chapter see Appendix, page xxiv. *The small figures in the text refer to Authorities cited on page* xxx *of the Appendix.*

THE COUNTRY. — THE NATIVES. — EFFECTS OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA ON EUROPE.

16. The miraculous spring; Ponce de Leon discovers Florida. — Early in the sixteenth century a Portuguese historian wrote to the Pope, "There is an island about three hundred and fifty leagues from Hispaniola (Hayti) . . . on which is a never-failing spring of such marvellous efficacy that when the water is drunk, perhaps with some attention to diet, it makes old people young again." Ponce de Leon, a Spanish cavalier, who was, as his epitaph[32] declared, "a lion by name and still more by nature," resolved to set out in search of this marvellous spring. He hoped thereby to find new lands and new life at the same time. It was a compliment to America that men believed it could give all things, not only gold and fame but even one's lost youth.

De Leon sailed (1513) from Porto Rico with a picked crew in search of the miraculous fountain. On Easter Day — in Spanish called Pascua Florida or "Flowery Easter" — they discovered land.[33] De Leon and his men went ashore a few miles north of where the Spaniards later founded St. Augustine. He called the land Florida from the name of the day on which he had discovered it. Later (1521) he returned to colonize

Florida. The Indians resisted his attempt to seize their country, and in the fight the stout-hearted old cavalier received his death wound.

17. Balboa discovers a new ocean; Magellan names it; Spanish exploration of the Pacific coast. — Meanwhile Balboa, the Spanish governor of a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, set out (1513) to discover a sea said to exist in the southwest. After an exhausting march of nearly three weeks, over rocky hills and through vine-tangled forests, the expedition reached the foot of a mountain where he called a halt. Climbing to the top of this height the Spaniard looked down upon the shining waters of the "South Sea." No white man had ever before beheld that greatest of the oceans of the globe; next after Columbus, Balboa had made the most remarkable geographical discovery recorded in history. A few days later, wading into the waters of that sea, he drew his sword and declared that the Kings of Spain should hold possession of the South Sea and of its coasts and islands "while the earth revolves, and until the universal judgment of mankind."[34]

Seven years later (1520) Magellan entered that ocean on his voyage round the globe. He found its waters so calm that he named it the Pacific.

Cortez had begun the conquest of Mexico, and in the course of a little more than twenty years (1520–1543) Spain had explored the Pacific coast of North America as far as Oregon.

18. Narvaez attempts to conquer Florida; the adventures of Cabeza de Vaca. — While Cortez was plundering Mexico, Narvaez started from Spain (1528) to conquer Florida; but lost his life in the undertaking. Cabeza de Vaca and three survivors of the expedition were wrecked on the coast of Texas.

He and his companions managed to escape from a long captivity among the Indians, and set out to cross the country to the Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast. After two years of wandering, they arrived (1538) at the city of Mexico.

Cabeza carried to the Spaniards of the Pacific coast reports of the existence of the wonderful stone and adobe cities of the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. This led to the great exploring expedition undertaken (1540) by Coronado.

19. De Soto's expedition; the Indians. — When Cabeza returned to Spain (1537) he reported that Florida was "the richest country in the world." Ferdinand de Soto, who had been with Pizarro in South America, heard this report with savage delight. He liked the "sport of killing Indians," and hoped to strip the Florida chiefs of their gold as Pizarro had stripped the unfortunate ruler of Peru.

In 1539 De Soto landed with an army of six hundred men at Tampa Bay, Florida. The Indians fought heroically against the invaders, but their arrows were no match for the arms carried by these white "warriors of fire."

The Spaniards chained a number of natives in gangs, forced them to serve as guides through the forest, and made them carry their baggage and "pound their corn."

20. De Soto discovers the "Great River" of the West; his death. — In the spring (1541) the Spaniards came to the banks of the "Great River" of the West. At the point where they first saw it, the river "was about half a league broad," of "great depth," with "a strong current," "the water was always muddy, and timber and trees were continually floating down." Such is the first description by Europeans of the Mississippi.[85]

De Soto and his party crossed this mighty stream probably not far below the present city of Memphis, and pushed on to the vicinity of the Hot Springs of Arkansas. In the spring, utterly discouraged, they set out to reach the Gulf of Mexico. They got as far as the point where the Red River unites with the Mississippi. There (1542) De Soto died, and was secretly

buried at midnight in the turbid waters of the "Great River" which he had discovered. His followers built boats, and dropping down the stream succeeded at length in reaching Mexico.

21. The seven wonderful cities; Coronado's expedition; Onate's expedition. — But the effect of Cabeza de Vaca's reports did not end with De Soto's disastrous expedition. Some Indians had told the Spaniards in Mexico that there were seven wonderful cities full of gold, silver and precious stones about forty days' journey northward in a region called Cibola. Cabeza, then in Mexico, said that he too had heard of these remarkable cities. The cupidity of the Spaniards was excited to fever point. A negro who had been one of Cabeza's former companions was sent out as guide to a monk who was directed to bring back an account of Cibola. They penetrated Arizona and New Mexico, and came in sight of one of the marvellous cities. The next year (1540) Coronado, the Spanish governor of a Mexican province, set out with an army to conquer Cibola. After a terrible march over mountains of rock and through suffocating deserts, Coronado reached one of the cities — the pueblo of Zuni, it is supposed — and took it by assault, but found no gold or precious stones.

From this point he sent out an exploring party in search of a strange river. They discovered the Cañon of the Colorado — the deepest gorge known to exist in the earth's crust. Led on by stories of gold to be found farther north, Coronado pushed forward until, according to his own computation, he reached the fortieth parallel of latitude. Here, first of white men, he hunted buffalo — perhaps on the plains of Kansas. The next year (1541) he reached the banks of a branch of the Mississippi and set up a cross bearing the inscription: "Thus far came the general Francisco Vasquez de Coronado."[36] Had the bold explorer kept on eastward from New Mexico he might have met his countryman De Soto, who had crossed the Mississippi and was moving westward.[37]

More than half a century later Onate, a Spanish military leader, founded Santa Fé (1605),[38] the second oldest town in the United States; his name cut on the smooth white sandstone of "Inscription Rock," between Santa Fé and Zuni, is still distinctly legible.

These men cared nothing for America itself, but only for what they could get out of it. Cortez summed up their motives in a single sentence when he told the Mexicans: "We Spaniards are troubled with a disease of the heart for which we find gold, and gold only, a specific remedy."

22. French explorations; Huguenot colonies planted at the south. — Meanwhile, a party of Frenchmen dared to dispute the claims of Spain to the exclusive possession of the North American continent. Cartier had already discovered and explored the St. Lawrence (1535), and had named a lofty hill on an island in that river Montreal. Not quite thirty years later (1562) Admiral Coligny, the champion of the French Protestants, sent out a number of Huguenot emigrants to plant a colony at the South. Their object was to build up a Protestant commonwealth at Port Royal, on the coast of what is now South Carolina. The attempt failed. Two years later a new Huguenot colony settled near the mouth of the St. John's River, Florida, and built Fort Caroline. Here they were joined by Jean Ribaut with reinforcements.

23. Philip II. sends Menendez to exterminate the Huguenot colonists; St. Augustine; the massacre; De Gourgues's revenge. — Philip II. of Spain was startled by hearing of these trespassers on his American dominions. French pirates had (1555) burned the Spanish settlement of Havana and butchered all of the inhabitants. Philip was eager for revenge; he was resolved to show no mercy to men who in his eyes were not only intruders, but "heretics." Pedro Menendez was sent over with a fleet to deal summarily with the Huguenots.

Menendez arrived in time to catch sight of Ribaut's vessels, but could not overtake them. He then dropped down to a

point about forty miles south, where he erected a fort (1565), and thus laid the foundations of St. Augustine, the oldest city built by white men on the North American continent.

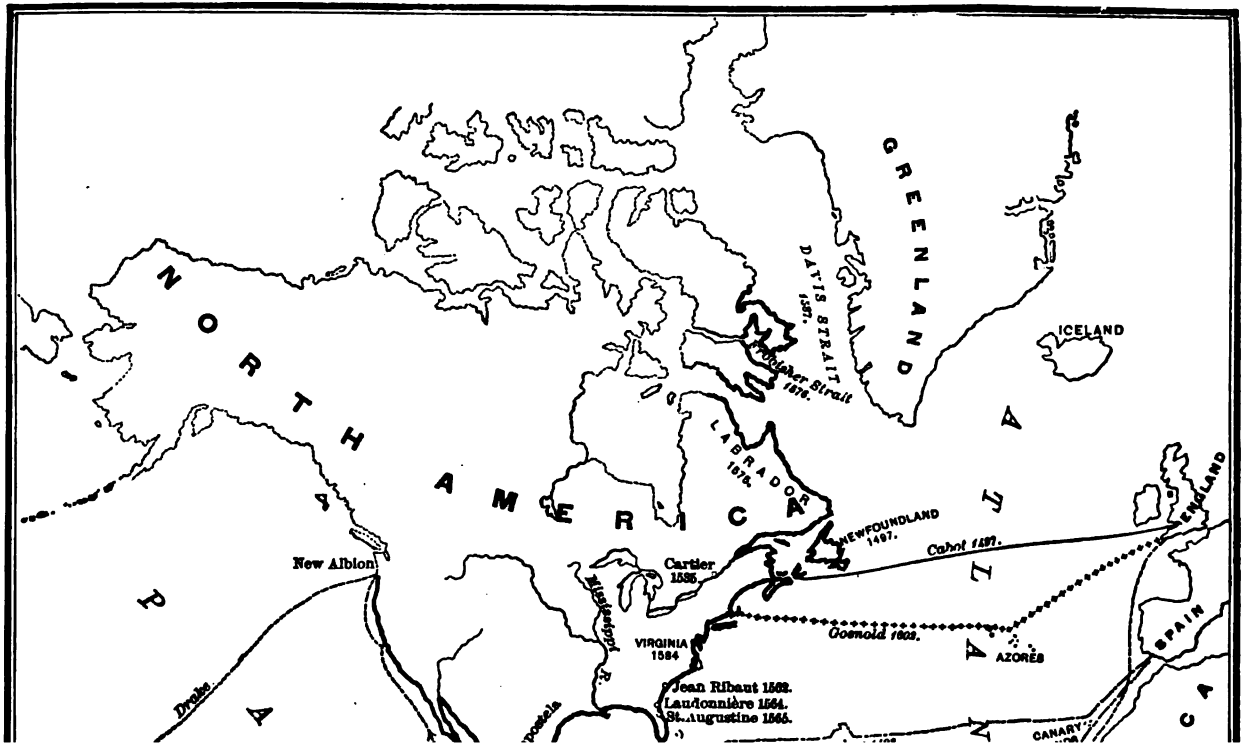
Meanwhile Ribaut, leaving a small garrison to hold Fort Caroline, sailed to attack the Spaniards, but his fleet was wrecked on the coast. Menendez, heard of the disaster, marched rapidly across the country, surprised Fort Caroline and killed most of the French in their beds. The women and children were spared. The story of this massacre reached France; it was reported that Menendez had hanged a number of the garrison, and had written above their swinging corpses: "I do this not as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans." [89]

On his return from Fort Caroline Menendez fell in with some of Ribaut's shipwrecked men. Trusting to the Spaniard's mercy they surrendered; their hands were tied behind their backs, they were marched to St. Augustine, and all, except a few sailors who professed to be Catholics, were put to death. A little later Ribaut himself, with some of his soldiers, was discovered. Part of them, including the captain, surrendered. They were told that they must die. "We are of the earth," said Ribaut, "and to earth we shall return—twenty years more or less matters little." All were stabbed to the heart. Afterward some of the French who had evaded pursuit were captured. Their lives were spared, but they were sent to the galleys, a fate more cruel than death itself.

France made no attempt to retaliate, but two years later (1567) Captain de Gourgues, said to have been a French Catholic, sailed from France and captured the Spanish fort on the St. John's. He hanged his prisoners on the same tree which it was said Menendez had used for executing his French captives. Over their bodies he placed this inscription: "I do this not as to Spaniards, but as to Traitors, Robbers, and Murderers." Not daring to attack St. Augustine, De Gourgues returned to France, leaving Spain supreme in America.

24. The English search for a northwest passage to India; Drake's voyage; Gilbert; Raleigh.— But soon a more formidable rival than the French appeared on the scene to contest the Spanish monopoly of North America. Frobisher, the English navigator (1576–1578), made great efforts to discover a northwestern passage to Asia. A little later (1579) Sir Francis Drake, in his voyage round the world, landed on the northern Pacific coast. He took possession of the country for Queen Elizabeth and named it New Albion. The English, however, made no attempt to plant a colony on the western coast, but a few years afterward (1583) Sir Humphrey Gilbert claimed Newfoundland for the British Crown. His intention was to colonize the country, but he was lost at sea. The year following (1584), Walter Raleigh, a half brother of Sir Humphrey, obtained a charter from Elizabeth giving him the right to lay claim to any land in the west "not actually possessed by any Christian Prince." Raleigh's charter guaranteed to all subjects of the Queen who should settle under it the same rights and privileges which they enjoyed at home. Burke says of Raleigh: "He was the first man in England who had a right conception of settlements abroad." His object was to found an English colonial empire in America, and to put "a bridle on the King of Spain,"— England's most formidable enemy.

25. Raleigh and Virginia; products of Virginia; the lost colony; the results. — Raleigh sent out an exploring expedition (1584). They landed at Roanoke Island and brought back such glowing accounts of the "good land" that Elizabeth named it Virginia and rewarded Raleigh with knighthood. The next year (1585) Raleigh sent out a body of colonists, but they soon came back. They had, however, discovered an Indian herb which the poet


NORTH AMERICA
GREENLAND
ICELAND
DAVIS STRAIT 1587.
Frobisher Strait 1576.
LABRADOR 1576.
NEWFOUNDLAND 1497.
Cabot 1497.
ENGLAND
New Albion
Cartier 1535.
Hochelaga
VIRGINIA 1584
Gosnold 1602.
AZORES
SPAIN
Drake
Jean Ribaut 1562.
Laudonnière 1564.
St. Augustine 1565.
CANARY

MAP SHOWING THE EARLY VOYAGES TO AMERICA, WITH THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS.

The heavy black coast line indicates what parts of the two continents were then known.

Spenser called "divine tobacco." They had also found certain round "roots" which "being boiled are very good food."[40]

Sir Walter planted the Indian herb and the round "roots" in his garden at Youghal near Cork, Ireland. By his efforts the Potato — the most valuable vegetable known to man — and Tobacco, denounced by King James as "the vilest of weeds," were introduced into use in the British Isles.

Not disheartened by the failure of his first attempt to establish a settlement in Virginia, Sir Walter sent out emigrants (1587) to form another. This colony mysteriously disappeared and no trace of it was ever found, save the name, Croatoan,[41] which the colonists had cut on the bark of a tree when they left their settlement never to return.

Though Sir Walter's enterprise had failed, the idea survived, and was successfully carried out later by a company of London merchants. Raleigh believed that he should live to see an "English nation" founded in the New World. He was not disappointed. His memorial window in the church of St. Margaret near Westminster Abbey, commemorates the fact that he "laid the corner-stone of the American Republic."

26. The American Indians; their character; their numbers. — Before proceeding to the work of Raleigh's successors, let us consider the subject of the Indians and their influence on the history of our country.

The Indians that Columbus met in the West Indies were usually gentle, timid, and easily enslaved by Europeans. But no colonist ever accused the northern Indians of excessive meekness of spirit. In bloodthirsty ferocity and bull-dog tenacity an Algonquin — or, still better, an Iroquois — was a match for the most brutal Spaniard that ever set foot on the shores of the New World.

The entire Indian population east of the Mississippi probably fell short of two hundred thousand.[42] The same area to-day supports a white population of over fifty millions.

Like the wild beasts of the forest, the Red Men possessed the country without occupying it. They required vast solitudes in which to seek their game. This was the more necessary because the dog was their only domestic animal.

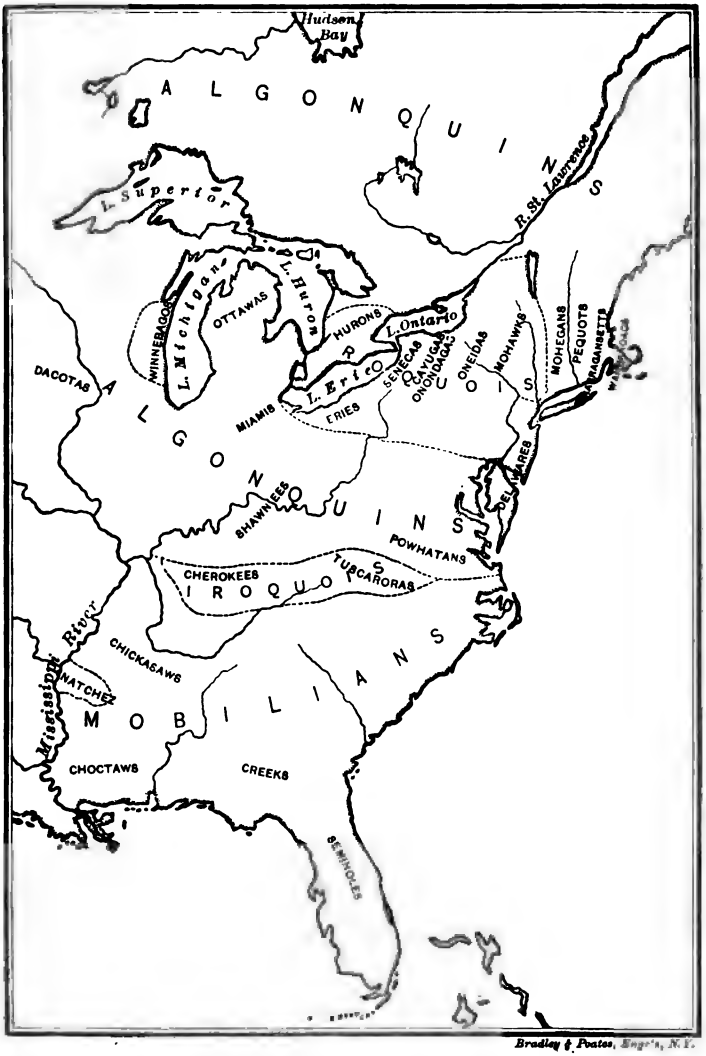
The Indians cultivated some small patches of corn and tobacco. But this area of cultivation remained practically stationary, since the amount of corn which a squaw could work over with her clamshell hoe could never be very great, when measured by the vigorous appetites of a healthy Indian family.

27. Influence of the character of the Indian on the early settlers. — It was perhaps fortunate for the future of America that the Indians of the North rejected civilization. Had they accepted it the whites and Indians might have intermarried to some extent as they did in Mexico. That would have given us a population made up in a measure of shiftless half-breeds.

It was fortunate, too, that the Indians whom the English colonists encountered were generally warlike. Had they been peaceful and submissive the white settlers would probably have reduced them to slavery, — as they did in the West Indies. That would have struck a serious blow at the habits of personal industry and of self-help acquired by the colonists.

The fact that the Red Man was intractable, independent, and fond of fighting prevented the great body of settlers from spreading rapidly over the country. It compelled them to live in a tolerably compact line along the coast, made them vigilant, exercised them in the art of war, and made union for self-defence a necessity. When later the English settlers had to fight the Canadian French, this training in arms, which conflicts with Indans had forced upon them, came into effective play and had decisive results on the future of America.

28. The indebtedness of the colonists to the Indians for food and clothing. — The relations in which the aborigines stood to the colonists as friends or enemies had important economic results. The first and greatest need of the colonists was an abundant supply of food. The chief American cereal



Bradley & Peates, Engr's, N.Y.

INDIAN TRIBES.

was Indian corn. It did not grow in Europe, and no Englishman ever saw a field of it before coming to this country. The Red Men taught the Virginia settlers how to raise corn in an uncleared forest by simply girdling the trees and so letting the sunlight in. In Plymouth the Indians showed the Pilgrims how to make their corn grow by putting a fish, as a fertilizer in every hill. They showed them, too, how to make maple sugar, and how to spear fish through the ice in winter and pack them in snow till wanted; that was the Indian's "cold storage" system.

From them, too, the settlers learned to tan deer-skins for clothing, to make moccasins, snow-shoes, and birch-bark canoes — all articles of indispensable use in the American wilderness.

29. Value of wampum; Indian labor; trade with the Indians. — Next to food and clothing one of the greatest wants felt by the colonists was some medium of exchange for carrying on trade with the natives. The Indians themselves met this want by their wampum or shell money. For many years this currency was practically well-nigh the only one in use in certain parts of the English settlements. It proved a most important factor in trading with the natives. The settlers also used it among themselves; they bought merchandise, hired labor, paid the salaries of their schoolmasters and ministers, and settled their tax-bills in clam-shell money.

Again, it was the Indians who first enabled the whites to open commerce with the mother-country. Fish and furs were always in demand in England; the Red Men were experts in trapping beaver, catching cod-fish, and in whaling; on this account the colonists found it profitable to hire their services.

On the other hand, the Indians were excellent customers for the hoes, knives, hatchets, blankets, muskets, ammunition, and rum which the colonists offered for sale. With iron hoes the natives could raise a much greater quantity of corn, and Governor Bradford states that the Narragansetts offered for sale from five hundred to a thousand bushels at a time.

30. Indian trails and water-ways; fur-trading posts. — When the colonists had grown so strong that they had begun to develop an inland commerce, the Indian proved helpful in a different direction. In the course of centuries of travel the Red Man's feet had worn trails through the forests. The settlers took the hint and often laid out their roads on the line of these trails. In the State of New York the turnpike, the Erie Canal, and the New York Central railroad, running nearly side by side from Albany to Buffalo, follow the great Iroquois trail extending from the Hudson to Lake Erie. In America the Indian was the first road surveyor.[43]

The water-ways of the Indians were as valuable to the colonists as their trails. By means of their light birch canoes the natives could pass from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic on the one hand and to the Gulf of Mexico on the other. They transported immense quantities of furs from the interior to the sea-coast for shipment to Europe. Merchandise and household goods were carried West in the same way. Over this great network of water-ways the Indians were our first pilots. The fur-trading posts in the West marked the sites of what became important settlements. Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, and other Western cities began in this way.

31. The Indians claim the continent; Indian wars. — The Red Man claimed the American continent as his own. The English colonists had to get their lands from him either by purchase, force, or fraud. Often the settlers bought the soil at a fair price. In other cases they deliberately drove the natives from their homes and hunting grounds, or shamefully cheated them out of their possessions by some cunning trick.

The result of such unfair treatment was war, and war accompanied by all the hideous acts of cruelty in which the Indians took delight. But the increase of the white settlers made conflict with the Indians well-nigh inevitable. The interests of the two races were to a certain extent antagonistic. The white man wanted to clear the land, — in fact, had to clear it in order to

live; the Indian wanted to retain the primeval wilderness as a game preserve. Every tree which the settler's axe felled was a sign to the Red Man that he must sooner or later move further west or starve. Hence it is that, down to a comparatively late period, Indian wars occupy a prominent place in our history.

32. Our alliances with the Indians; the Iroquois, or "Five Nations." — Our alliances with the Indians were often as important as our wars with them. It was largely through the help of the Iroquois that the English prevented the Canadian French from getting possession of New York.

Again, the English, through the Indians of New York, obtained "their first real treaty-hold" on the rich country west of the Alleghanies, between the Ohio and the Great Lakes. Those Indians claimed that region by reason of their conquests over other tribes. By a treaty made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania (1744), the Iroquois ceded all their western lands to the King of England. When the French claimed that vast and fertile region by right of discovery and exploration, England replied, in behalf of her American colonies, that the territory was already hers by virtue of the Lancaster Indian treaty. Whether the Iroquois cession was valid or not, it was believed to be so, and it helped to open the way for the future growth of the English colonies in the West.

33. Summary of our relations with the Indians. — We may summarize our relations with the Indians as economic and political. Under the first head we find that: 1. The Indians taught the settlers how to grow corn and thus supply themselves with an inexhaustible quantity of food. 2. They helped them to open up a highly profitable European trade in furs and fish. 3. They furnished the first currency for obtaining supplies to carry on that trade. 4. The Indian trails and water-ways became permanent means of communication to the settlers, and the fur-trading posts often grew into thriving cities.

Under the second head we find that: 1. The necessity of defence against hostile tribes induced the colonists to keep

together, and trained them in war. 2. Alliances formed with the powerful Iroquois Confederacy of New York served as a barrier against the designs of the Canadian French, and thus favored the unity and continued growth of the English colonies. 3. Through a treaty made with the Iroquois at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the English obtained a formal title to the lands beyond the Alleghanies; thus they secured room for expansion, and laid the foundation of our hold on the West.

34. Effects of the discovery of America on Europe. — 1. The success of Columbus gave rise to voyages of exploration, and opened new fields for commerce. Spain rapidly rose through the supply of precious metals she obtained in Mexico and Peru, to be the most powerful nation in Europe. The large amount of gold and silver thus brought into circulation in the Old World stimulated rival nations to send out expeditions to conquer and colonize empires in America.

In England and on the Continent the increase of the precious metals frequently enabled the peasantry, who paid a fixed money rent, to become owners of the lands they cultivated. Many emigrants of the best class who came to this country from England sprang from that thrifty and industrious peasantry.

2. The Spaniards who settled the West Indies at first enslaved the Indians; but finding that negroes were far more profitable as laborers, they gradually introduced African slavery into those islands. After the English planted colonies on the mainland, much of their commerce was with the West Indies. Interference with this trade by the British Government was one cause of the American Revolution.

3. North America gave Europe new food products of inestimable value. Chief among them stand the potato and Indian corn. Besides these, the cod fisheries of Newfoundland furnished the poorer classes with inexhaustible supplies of that cheap and well-known fish. America also in time supplied Europe with such luxuries as cocoa and tobacco. Columbus found cotton in the West Indies, and carried back with him

cloth manufactured from it by the natives. Sugar, rice, and cotton had long been produced in the East Indies; but their high price in Europe made them the luxuries of the rich. Now they were discovered growing wild in America. Eventually their cultivation in the Southern States made them so cheap that they came into general use throughout the civilized world.

4. But the crowning result of the discovery of America was that it widened the intellectual horizon to a degree that no event ever had before. Men found that they were living in a grander world than they had imagined. New possibilities, new opportunities were opened to them. Hope was awakened, enterprise stimulated. "If," says Freeman, the eminent English historian, "the New World owes its being to the Old World, the Old owes to the New the revival and expansion of its being."

At best the Old World was limited; men knew its bounds and its resources. There, progress was beset with difficulty; but no one dared to fix the limits of America or say what marvels it contained. Here certainly was room for all, and food for all. If in many of its physical aspects — its soil and climate — it was Europe repeated, still it was repeated on a colossal scale, with vaster forests, wider prairies, loftier mountain ranges, grander lakes, and nobler rivers. Unlike Europe, America fronts on two oceans; it naturally commands the trade of Europe and Africa on the one side, and of Asia and the Indies on the other.

America invited all classes of men to her hospitable shores. She seemed to say: Come here and be free, for here is a virgin field in which to try not only all experiments in the development of material resources, but in government and in the organization of society; — here, in short, is a *New* World; you shall make of it what you will.[44]

35. Summary.— 1. In 1492 Columbus, while seeking a direct, all-water route to the Indies, discovered the West India Islands and opened them to Spanish occupation. The voyages of Americus Vespucius suggested the name America for the

New World. By the beginning of the 17th century the Spaniards had discovered Florida, the Mississippi and the Pacific, explored parts of the South and West, made a settlement at St. Augustine, Florida, and taken possession of Mexico and New Mexico.

2. Meanwhile, the French had explored the St. Lawrence and made an attempt to get a foothold in the South, but had been driven out by the Spaniards.

3. In 1497 John Cabot first discovered the *continent* of North America and claimed possession of it for England. In the next century Sir Walter Raleigh planted English settlements in Virginia, but they were soon abandoned.

4. The close of the sixteenth century left the Spaniards the sole possessors of North America. So far as could then be seen, Spain, and Spain alone, was destined to control the future of the territory which is now the United States.

III.

PERMANENT ENGLISH AND FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

For Authorities for this Chapter, see Appendix, page xxiv. *The small figures refer to Notes on Authorities cited on page* xxx *of the Appendix.*

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES. — FRENCH EXPLORATION OF THE WEST. — WARS WITH THE INDIANS AND WITH THE FRENCH. — GENERAL VIEW OF THE COLONIES, 1600-1763.

36. English trading expeditions; the fisheries; Virginia colonies planned. — Although Raleigh's attempt to plant a colony in Virginia had failed, yet the English continued to send out occasional fishing and fur-trading expeditions to America. By 1600 the British Newfoundland fisheries employed not less than ten thousand men and boys.[45]

Gosnold (1602) and Weymouth (1605) made voyages to that part of Northern Virginia which was later named New England, and carried back favorable accounts. Two commercial companies, known as the London and the Plymouth companies, were formed in England to plant permanent colonies in Virginia, — a territory then extending from Cape Fear to Halifax.[46]

Several reasons prompted this undertaking: 1. The companies hoped to discover mines of precious metals in Virginia or to find a passage to the Pacific and the Indies.

2. It was believed that colonies in Virginia would draw off a restless class of disbanded soldiers and of young men out of work, — then numerous in England; that they would employ many idle vessels in carrying out emigrants and freight; that they would open new markets for English goods, and finally that

England would be able to get a cheap and abundant supply of ship-timber, tar, and rosin from her American colonies.

3. Some of the promoters of the enterprise had broader views; they looked beyond material gains, and resolved to plant great and growing colonies in Virginia which should secure to England a mighty empire in America.

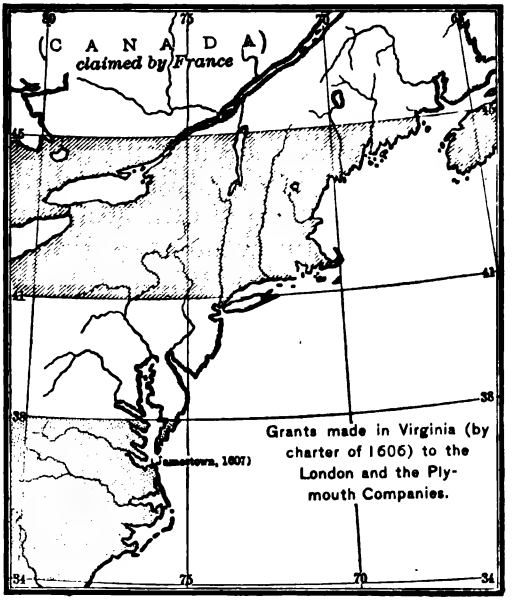
But the plans of the Companies had opponents. Hume says that even in 1606 there were Englishmen who thought it bad policy to plant colonies in Virginia, because such settlements "after draining the mother-country of inhabitants would soon shake off her yoke and *erect an independent government.*" [47]

I. Virginia (1607).

37. The Virginia Charter (1606); appeal to that charter.— The charter [48] of the London Company gave them power to establish settlements in Southern Virginia anywhere between the 34th and 38th degrees of north latitude (that is, between Cape Fear and the Potomac). To the Plymouth Company the King by the same charter granted the territory in Northern Virginia between the 41st and 45th degrees of north latitude (that is, between the eastern end of Long Island and the northern limit of Nova Scotia). The intervening country (38th to 41st degrees), embracing what is now Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey and New York, was open to colonization by either Company, but neither was to make a settlement within one hundred miles of the other.

The charter provided: 1. That each grant should extend one hundred miles inland. 2. That the territory should be free of all tax to the King, save a certain reservation (from a fifth to a fifteenth) of any valuable metals which might be found. 3. The King guaranteed to the colonists and their descendants the same rights and privileges "as if they had been abiding and were born within this our realm of England." [49]

This last important concession did not go into effect until the establishment of the Virginia Assembly (1619); later it had an unforeseen result. On the eve of the Revolution (1765), the Virginians in justifying their resistance to the Stamp Act appealed to this clause of the original charter. They declared that the first settlers "brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, all the privileges . . . that have at any time been held . . . by the people of Great Britain." [50]



38. Government of the colony; trial by jury; religious worship; community of goods. — The colony was to be governed by a resident council, under the direction of a higher council in England, controlled by the King.[51]

Trial by jury was to be granted in capital cases, and religious worship according to the usage of the Church of England was to be established.[52] For the first five years the colonists were to deposit "all the fruits of their labor" in the Company's storehouse; but the Company was to supply the settlers with food, clothing, and other necessaries.

39. Settlement of Jamestown (1607); instructions to the emigrants; Captain John Smith. — In 1607 the London

Company sent out one hundred and five emigrants to Virginia. No women or children went. Like the California pioneers of '49 their object was to find fortunes in the soil of the New World. They took out pickaxes to dig for gold. The emigrants had particular orders to search for mines of precious metals, and to seek for a passage to the Pacific.

The colonists landed on the banks of a river which they named the James in honor of the King. For a like reason they named their settlement Jamestown (1607). Perhaps the ablest man in the party was Captain John Smith. He became one of the governors of the colony, and wrote its history.

Most of the settlers belonged to a class in England who were unused to manual labor, and hence wholly unfit to struggle with the hardships of an American wilderness. Sickness carried off many, and at one time they came so near starving that it was with the greatest difficulty that the breath of life was kept in the colony. A ship-load of glittering earth which they sent back to London, and which turned out to be not gold but simply yellow dirt, completed the disgust of the settlers.

When Smith became Governor, he laid down the scriptural rule that those who would not work should not eat. He explored and mapped the country bordering on Chesapeake Bay, urged the cultivation of corn, and endeavored by every possible means to put the settlement on a self-supporting and paying basis.[53] Whether Pocahontas saved Captain Smith's life or not, he certainly seems to have saved Virginia.

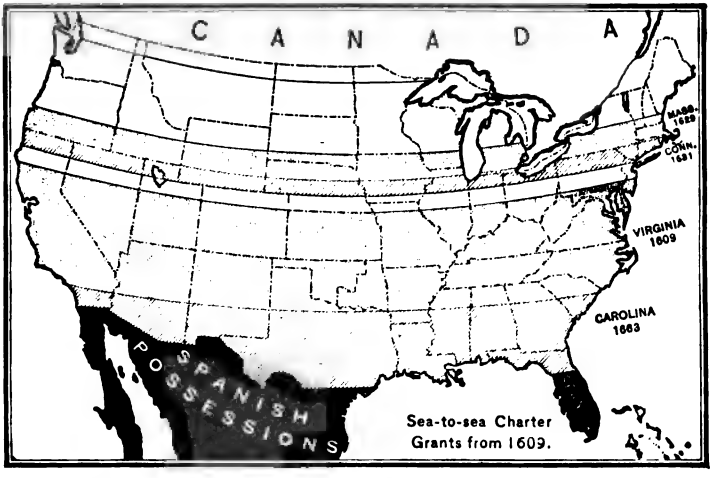
40. Provisions of the new charter (1609). — Two years after the settlement of Jamestown the King granted the London Company (1609) a new charter. It provided: —

1. That the government of the colony should be placed entirely in the hands of the Council in England, who were to send out a governor having almost absolute power.

2. Virginia was now made to extend two hundred miles north and the same distance south of Point Comfort; westward it was to run "from sea to sea," — that is, to the Pacific.[54] Event-

ually Virginia made the "sea-to-sea" clause the basis for her claim to the greater part of that vast region which, after the Revolution, came to be called the "Northwest Territory" (§ 237).

3. The new charter forbade any emigrant's settling in Virginia unless he took the Oath of Supremacy by which he denied



the supreme authority of the Pope. This, of course, shut out Catholics.

At that time each of the leading nations of Europe maintained its own form of religion. In Southern Europe the established church was Catholic, in Northern Europe it was Protestant. When Spain planted her colonies in America she naturally excluded the Protestants; when England planted hers, she just as naturally excluded the Catholics.

41. The colonists abandon Jamestown; Lord Delaware; Sir Thomas Dale; the third charter (1612). — After Smith's return to England (1609) the colonists became so disheartened that they abandoned Jamestown and set out for their native land. At that moment, Lord Delaware, the newly appointed Governor, arrived and compelled the settlers to remain.

Lord Delaware was succeeded (1611) by Sir Thomas Dale, a stern disciplinarian, but a man of sound sense. He allotted three acres of land to each colonist, on condition that he should deliver a certain quantity of corn annually to the keeper of the common storehouse. This arrangement had a most happy effect: it secured to each man a little estate of his own, stimulated industry, and provided a reserve supply of food for the colony.

A year later (1612) the King granted to the Company a third and final charter. It differed from the preceding ones in putting the management of the colony into the hands not of a council, but of the body of stockholders in England.

42. John Rolfe begins the cultivation of tobacco; results. — Not long after Governor Dale's administration began, John Rolfe, who married Pocahontas, planted a field with tobacco (1612) which he sold at a handsome profit in England. That experiment decided the industrial and commercial success of the colony. Henceforth every man that could turn planter did so, and began raising tobacco for the English market. The soil and climate of Virginia favored the new culture, and the navigable streams emptying into Chesapeake Bay made it easy for the planters to ship their crop almost from their own doors direct to London.

Notwithstanding a heavy tax imposed on this product by the King, the demand for it constantly increased. In 1619 the Virginians exported 20,000 pounds of tobacco, and eight years later 500,000. Long before the close of the century the quantity sent abroad had risen (1670) to nearly 12,000,000 pounds. Charles II. thought that the use of the weed would be of short duration, and declared that the prosperity of Virginia was "wholly built upon smoke"; but from that "smoke" England derived, and still derives, a goodly part of her revenue.

In Virginia tobacco became (1620) the legal currency, and planters paid their tavern bills and their taxes in rolls or hogsheads of it. Later the Legislature enacted laws stinting the quantity of the plant which a farmer might raise, and compel-

ling him to devote a certain number of acres to corn. These laws were necessary to prevent over-production in the one case, and to provide food in the other.

Economically, politically and socially the cultivation of tobacco had results of the highest importance.

1. It encouraged the immigration of a class of thrifty and industrious colonists who saw in Virginia a gold mine which they could work with a hoe.

2. It induced the exportation from England of thousands of "indented apprentices," who were bound to the planters for a number of years. Part of them came voluntarily, part were kidnapped in English ports and shipped to Virginia against their will. In a few instances, convicts known as "jail birds" were sent over by order of the King. By a later Act of Parliament convicts might be sent to any of the American colonies, though the greater part seem to have been transported to the West Indies.[55] Most of these apprentices and their descendants became what were known as "Poor Whites," or "Scrubs." Occasionally a remarkable man sprang from these people. In modern times "Stonewall" Jackson was one, and Abraham Lincoln says that he was another.[56]

3. The demand for cheap and permanent laborers for raising tobacco led directly to the introduction (1619) of negro slavery.

4. The plantations, by scattering the population over large areas, checked the growth of towns and of public schools; but they were highly favorable to the creation of a well-to-do and high-spirited rural aristocracy who lived on their estates much after the fashion of the county aristocracy of England.

5. Finally, although tobacco exhausted the soil, and in time compelled the planters to abandon their old farms and take new,[57] yet this staple first placed Virginia on a solid financial basis, and ensured the success of the colony.

43. Establishment of the Virginia Assembly; Virginia loses her charter; suffrage; power of the Assembly (1619); local government. — A majority of the Virginia Company in

England were members of the Liberal party of that day. In their sympathy for popular liberty they resolved to give the colonists the power to enact laws so "that they might have a hand in governing themselves." [58]

Acting under orders from the Company, Governor Yeardley called on the inhabitants of the eleven boroughs or towns of Virginia to elect two representatives from each borough to meet with him and his council. In accordance with that summons the first American legislature assembled in the church at Jamestown in the summer of 1619. That body had full power to make all needful "general laws," [59] but no law was to be in force unless approved by the Governor and "solemnly ratified" by the Virginia Company in England. The meeting of that House of Burgesses or Assembly marks the beginning of local self-government on the American continent.

At first all free men had the right to vote for members of the Assembly, but later (1670) it was enacted that in accordance with English law and custom none but householders and owners of real estate should have "a voice in the election of any burgesses in this country." [60]

In 1621 the Company gave the colonists a written constitution [61] confirming their right to a legislative Assembly. A little later the burgesses enacted (1623) that the Governor should not "lay any taxes . . . upon the colony . . . other than by the authority of the General Assembly." [62] This enactment had the effect of making the Assembly the real ruling power.

The stockholders of the Virginia Company fell into disputes, and the King took advantage of the fact to annul the charter (1624) and make the colony a royal province; but this change did not affect the Assembly. The local government of the province was carried on by parish committees, who taxed the people for the support of the Episcopal Church and for the poor. The counties were governed by officers appointed by the royal Governor. These officers levied taxes to build highways

and for other purposes. The general expenses of the province were met by taxes levied by the Assembly.

In time local government throughout the South came to resemble that of Virginia, — especially in the county system.

44. The beginning of African slavery in Virginia (1619). — Not long after the meeting of the first American legislature an event occurred which John Rolfe, the tobacco planter, thus records: "About the last of August (1619) came in a Dutch man-of-war that sold us twenty Negars." The purchase of that score of kidnapped Africans fastened slavery on Virginia and on the United States. No one then thought it any more harm to buy a negro than to buy a horse. The laws of Moses were believed to sanction traffic in human beings, and the Attorney-General of England declared that "negroes being pagans might justly be bought and sold." The English sovereigns shared in the profits of the trade and encouraged the Virginians to buy as many black men as they could pay for. Before the American Revolution, every one of the thirteen colonies held more or less slaves. But the increase of negroes in Virginia was slow, since planters of small means found it cheaper to employ the labor of "indented apprentices." Later a statute (1662) made slavery hereditary, not only for negroes, but for mulattoes, by providing that "all children born in this country shall be held bond or free, according to the condition of the mother." [63]

45. Attempts to check the importation of slaves; growth of slavery. — Eventually the Virginians became alarmed at the rapid increase of slaves and endeavored to check their importation, but the English Parliament refused to allow any restriction on so lucrative a trade. George Mason of Virginia declared in the Federal Congress that "this infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants," and Jefferson, in his first draft of the Declaration of Independence, made the King's encouragement of the slave-trade one of the reasons which justified the colonies in separating from the mother-country.[64]

But although Jefferson, Washington, and other leading Virginians (who were themselves slave-holders), advocated gradual emancipation, yet the majority of the planters opposed it. After the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and after the invention of the cotton-gin made the cultivation of cotton enormously profitable, slavery gained a commercial and political importance which made it for more than two generations the "central problem of American history."

46. Importation of women; results; Plymouth Colony; the situation. — But though Virginia was becoming prosperous, the colony still lacked one element without which no colony could hope to thrive. Very few women had emigrated to Jamestown. The Virginia Company resolved to remedy the deficiency and sent (1621) ninety "young and handsome maids to be disposed in marriage to the most honest and industrious planters . . . who are to defray the charge of their passage." [65] The charge was from 120 to 150 pounds of the best leaf tobacco. Never was that plant put to better use.

When the women came, homes began in the New World. Husband, wife, children, — these threefold bonds made the little Virginian commonwealth sure of its future.

Five hundred miles to the northeast a band of Pilgrims had recently (1620) planted a second English colony. They brought their families with them, — they too had homes. The children born in these two settlements, at Plymouth Rock and on the James River, would call this country, and not England, their native land; in that way America would come to be a sacred name, and mean what it had never meant before.

Here then was the situation in 1621: In Florida a few hundred Spaniards held a fort (St. Augustine) on the coast; at Quebec a small number of French Catholics, who had gone there in 1608, held another fort; on the Hudson River a thrifty colony of Dutch traders had established themselves since 1613.

In New England and Virginia there were two little settlements of English people. Of these four rival colonies the

English homes alone were the abodes of men who made their own local laws and levied their own taxes. In that fact may be seen the germ of American independence.

47. Virginia loses part of her territory; civil war in England; cavaliers; loyalty of Virginia. — After Virginia lost her charter (§ 43) she also lost part of her territory through the King's grant (1632) of Maryland on the north and (1663) of the Carolinas on the south.

Shortly after Charles I. appointed Sir William Berkeley Governor of Virginia (1642), civil war broke out in England; the Puritan party suppressed the established Church of England for a time, and set up a short-lived republic.

Though the people of Virginia were divided in their political and religious opinions, yet the ruling element staunchly upheld the Church and the Crown. The Assembly enacted (1643) that "all non-conformists (that is, persons who would not attend the service of the Episcopal Church) should, when notified, be compelled to depart out of the colony."[66] Again, when Charles I. was beheaded (1649) the Assembly declared his executioners traitors, and threatened death to those who should defend them.[67]

But in the end Virginia found it policy to submit to the authority of the English Republic. Governor Berkeley retired from office, but gave princely receptions to the Cavaliers or "King's Men," who had fought for Charles I. and who now fled to Virginia. Among those who came were the ancestors of the illustrious families of the Washingtons and the Lees.[68]

Great was the rejoicing in the "Old Dominion" when (1660) monarchy was restored in England, and "the King came back to his own again." Governor Berkeley again put on his silk robe of office, and the Assembly begged the pardon of Charles II. for having yielded for a time to the "execrable power that so bloodily massacred the late King Charles the First of blessed and glorious memory."[69]

48. Navigation laws and other commercial restrictions. — Under Cromwell the English Parliament enacted navigation laws

which forbade the importation into England of any products or goods not brought in British vessels. The object of those laws was to strike a blow at the Dutch, who had the control of the carrying trade of the world, and to secure a large part of the commerce to English shipowners. Charles II. (1660) signed a bill which made the navigation laws far more stringent. In their revised form they forbade the Virginians exporting their tobacco — their only really profitable product — to any country except Great Britain and her dependencies. A few years later (1663) a new statute prohibited the colonists from purchasing manufactured goods from any country but England. Finally, this restrictive legislation reached its climax in the enactment of a third law (1673) which prohibited the colonies from trading with each other in any article of importance.[70]

These laws were intended to protect the interests of the mother-country. They made it possible for English merchants to fix the price at which the Virginia and other colonial planters must sell their produce, and secondly to determine the price which the colonists must pay for whatever they imported. The Virginians would have been badly off indeed if they had not managed to smuggle their tobacco out in Dutch vessels and to smuggle European goods in.

49. Charles II. grants Virginia to two of his favorites. — We have seen (§ 47) that the English sovereigns had carved huge slices out of Virginia, both on the north and the south. The people were dismayed at the loss, but congratulated themselves that the King had not taken all, when by a sudden act (1673) Charles did take all. That monarch had two rapacious favorites, the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper; both wished to fill their pockets at the expense of the New World. Charles took pity on them and granted "that entire tract of land and water commonly called Virginia" to have and to hold for thirty-one years. He empowered these two noblemen to collect all land-rents and receive all revenues; and though they could not actually dispossess any settler who held his estate by a clear

title, they could compel him to prove his title. These powers made Arlington and Culpepper the owners and masters of the whole commonwealth of Virginia.

50. The "Perpetual Legislature"; the parish committees; taxes; war with the Indians. — To add to the miseries of the colonists, no general election had been held since Governor Berkeley's restoration to office — a period of thirteen years. Such a state of things virtually deprived the colonists of representation in the Assembly. Furthermore, the vestries or church committees, which had the control of the affairs of each parish, had gradually become self-elective bodies or close corporations. This change deprived the majority of the parishioners of any voice in the management of local interests. Meanwhile the "Perpetual Legislature," as it might well be named, demanded heavy taxes to keep up the forts, and called on the planters for large levies of tobacco in order to raise a fund to buy out the claims of Arlington and Culpepper.

Just at this critical period (1675) the Indians on the frontier rose against the settlers. King Philip's war was raging in Massachusetts and the planters had good reason to fear that the hideous atrocities committed by the savages in New England would soon be repeated in Virginia. Governor Berkeley took no decided measures to protect the colonists, and it was whispered that the profits he derived from trade with the Indians made him unwilling to act.

51. Bacon and the Indians; the "Bacon Rebellion." — At this juncture Nathaniel Bacon, a wealthy young planter, and a member of the Governor's council, asked for a commission to raise volunteers to defend the colony. The Governor refused his request. Bacon, whose plantation had been attacked by the Indians, raised a body of men on his own responsibility and marched against the savages. Berkeley denounced him as a traitor. Meanwhile the settlers in the lower counties sympathized with the young planter's energetic action. They rose

in arms and compelled the election (1676) of a new Assembly, — the first that had been chosen for sixteen years. Bacon was elected a member. This Assembly broke up the close parish committees, re-granted to the freemen of each parish the right to manage its affairs, and repealed the law (§ 43) which limited the right of suffrage to freeholders and householders.

Governor Berkeley, yielding to the pressure brought by the people, not only pardoned Bacon, but promised him a commission to raise volunteers. The Governor did not keep his word, and Bacon, suspecting treachery, secretly left Jamestown and soon afterward reappeared at the head of five hundred men. Berkeley then gave him the commission he demanded, but shortly after proclaimed him a "rebel." This brought on civil war. Jamestown was besieged; the Governor fled, and the town was burned to the ground. A crumbling heap of ruins shows where the first American settlement stood; the capital of Virginia was removed (1690) to Williamsburg.

The leader of the rebellion suddenly died, the movement collapsed and the reforms with it. The "Bacon Laws," including freedom of suffrage, were repealed, and soon everything was back in the old ruts. Berkeley showed so little mercy in dealing with the Bacon party that even Charles II. said in disgust: "That old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than I did (in England) for the murder of my father." [71]

But Bacon's movement of reform perished only in appearance. From Berkeley's time onward we mark a rising spirit of resistance to arbitrary rule. When Governor Spotswood (1710–1722) insisted on settling clergymen for life over the parishes, the people refused to settle a minister for more than a year. They claimed that since they were taxed to pay for preaching they had the right to choose the preacher. In the end the people gained the day, and the lordly Spotswood retired discomfited from the field.

Governor Dinwiddie (1752–1758) found the people just as stubborn on another point. He asked for contributions to fight

the French and Indians on the western frontier, but the Assembly refused to vote them unless he would give up the exaction of illegal land-fees. Worn out with the long contest, the Governor wrote to a friend that the Virginians were "too much in a republican way of thinking." [72] Naturally the aristocratic planters of the "Old Dominion" stood squarely by Church and King, but none the less they were fully resolved to contest to the death any serious infringement of their rights. Edmund Burke believed that the ownership of slaves made the Virginians "proud and jealous of their liberty." In his famous speech on "Conciliation" (1775) he said: "In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it and renders it invincible."

52. The spirit of independence in Virginia; the warrior-preacher; the Continental Congress. — But this spirit of freedom was not confined in any way to one class or section of Virginia. Late in the colonial period an industrious and thrifty population of Germans, Swedes, and Scotch-Irish — or emigrants of Scottish origin who came from the north of Ireland — settled in the beautiful Shenandoah Valley. They were a God-fearing and liberty-loving people, too poor to own slaves, and so earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. From them sprang a class of men who made their influence felt in the Revolution and in the Civil War.

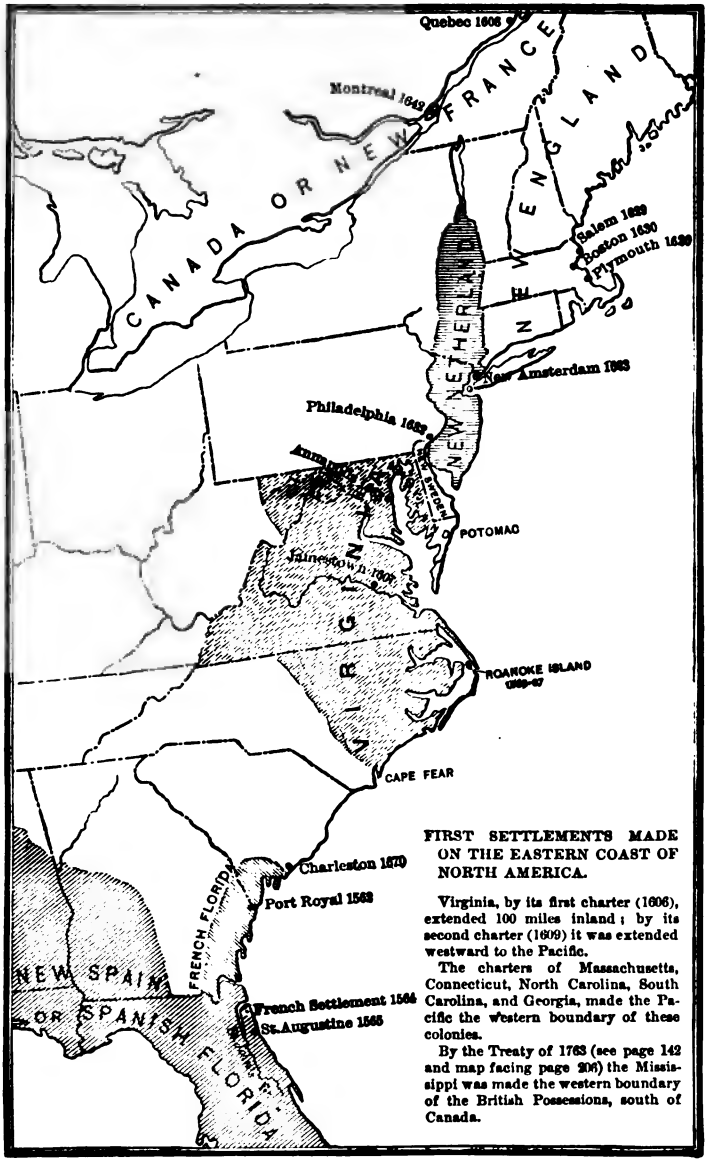
The Reverend John Muhlenberg, a clergyman of that section, voiced the feelings of the hardy patriots of the stirring days of 1775. At the close of a fervent discourse he said: "Brethren, there is a time for all things — a time to preach and a time to pray; but there is also a time to fight, and that time has now come!" Then throwing off his gown, he stood before his congregation a girded warrior, and coming down from the pulpit commanded the drummers at the church door to beat for recruits. Nearly three hundred of the congregation entered the ranks. It was the spirit of the "Bacon Rebellion" revived and intensified. This time it was not to be quelled.

The next year — just a hundred years to a day from the time the "Bacon Assembly" had met at Jamestown — another assembly, the "Continental Congress," met at Philadelphia. On motion by a delegate from Virginia they voted the adoption of the Declaration of Independence which Jefferson wrote and which Washington drew his sword to defend.

53. **Summary.** — Jamestown, Virginia (1607), was the first permanent English settlement made in the New World. There (1619) the first American legislature was convened; the same year saw the introduction of negro slaves. Tobacco was the great staple which built up the commerce of the colony, though that commerce was seriously hampered (1660) by the English Navigation Laws. Virginia was strongly Royalist, but it was also determined to resist oppression. There was a period of bad government, and Bacon (1676) began a movement of reform which was temporarily successful. Later (1775) the spirit of independence made the "Old Dominion" a leading colony in the Revolution.

II. New Netherland or New York (1614).

54. **New Netherland, or New York (1614); Henry Hudson's search for a passage to the Indies; the "River of the Mountains."** — In 1609 the Dutch East India Company — England's great commercial rival — sent out Captain Henry Hudson to discover a passage through America to the Indies. While exploring the coast he entered that noble stream which he called the "River of the Mountains," but which now bears the name of its explorer. Passing up the river, Hudson, first of white men who sailed on its waters, reached the point where Albany now stands. Shallow water forced him to reluctantly turn back. He was delighted with the country. "It is as beautiful a land," said he, "as the foot of man ever trod upon."[78] After a short stay he returned to Europe.



FIRST SETTLEMENTS MADE ON THE EASTERN COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

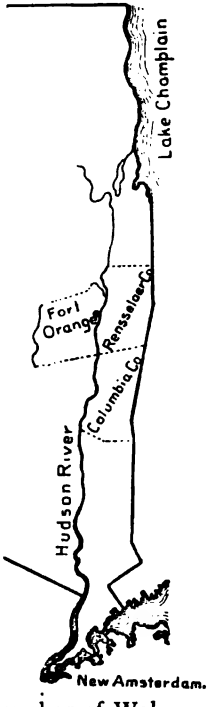
Virginia, by its first charter (1606), extended 100 miles inland; by its second charter (1609) it was extended westward to the Pacific.

The charters of Massachusetts, Connecticut, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, made the Pacific the western boundary of these colonies.

By the Treaty of 1763 (see page 142 and map facing page 206) the Mississippi was made the western boundary of the British Possessions, south of Canada.

55. The Dutch build fur-trading stations (1614) on the Hudson River. — The Dutch at once (1610) sent out an expedition to open fur-traffic with the Indians. Soon afterward (1614) they built a few log cabins on the southern portion of Manhattan Island, and erected Fort Nassau just below the present site of Albany.

Fort Nassau was practically at the head of ship navigation on the Hudson. It also stood at the eastern terminus of the great central Indian trail running to Lake Erie. Such a station was admirably located for carrying on the fur trade with the Iroquois. On the other hand, the post on Manhattan Island would control the entrance to the river, and thus give the Dutch a monopoly of one of the most important water-ways on the eastern coast of America.



56. A trading company formed; colonization; purchase of Manhattan Island (1626). — In the autumn of the same year (1614) the Dutch Republic of the United Netherlands granted a charter [74] to a commercial corporation giving it the exclusive right to trade with the country called "New Netherland." The territory bearing that name embraced not only the valley of the Hudson, but the entire region between Virginia and Canada. The object of the Company was not to plant colonies, but to engage in traffic with the natives. But some years later (1621) a new corporation, the Dutch West India Company, obtained a charter giving them all the rights originally possessed by the first Company and the privilege of sending over colonists besides. They soon (1623) shipped a number of Walloons, or Belgian Protestants, to New Netherland. Part of the emigrants landed on Manhattan Island, but most of them went up the river and helped to build Fort Orange — now Albany.

In 1626 the Company sent out Peter Minuit as governor; before the close of the year he purchased the Island of Manhattan from the Indians for "the value of sixty guilders," or about $24.00. The town of thirty houses on the Island now received the name of New Amsterdam.

57. Establishment of the patroon system. — A few years later (1629) the Company established the patroon system, in the hope of thereby promoting the rapid settlement of the colony. The patroon stood in the place of the old feudal lord; under him the colonist played the part of serf or semi-slave.

The following were the privileges of the master: Every member of the Company who bound himself to take or send over at least fifty emigrants over fifteen years of age was to receive the honorary title of "Patroon [or Patron] of New Netherland." 1. He was entitled to hold an estate having sixteen miles frontage on "one side of a navigable river, or eight miles on each side," and extending as far into the country "as the situations of the occupiers will permit." 2. As lord of the manor, he was empowered to hold civil and criminal courts on his estate, and from his decisions as judge there was practically no appeal.[75] 3. He had the right to appoint officers and magistrates in all cities and towns founded on his lands. This, of course, gave him almost entire control of such places, since the inhabitants had no voice in the elections. 4. He held his estate "as a perpetual inheritance," and by handing it down in the line of the eldest son could keep his vast property undivided in his family forever.

On the other hand, all emigrants taken or sent out to New Netherland by a patroon were held as follows: 1. They bound themselves to serve him for a term of years (like the indented apprentice of Virginia planters). 2. They agreed to grind their grain in his mill and to pay for the grinding. 3. They were not to hunt or fish without their master's permission. 4. They pledged themselves not to weave any cloth for themselves or others, but to buy it from the Company, on

pain of being severely punished and banished from New Netherland.

The master and his laborer were to "find means for supporting a minister and a schoolmaster and a comforter of the sick." No patroon was permitted by the Company to engage in the fur trade except at certain designated trading posts; he was also to pay an export duty on all skins sent out of the colony.

58. The Van Rensselaer and other estates; how the patroons lived. — Under this cumbrous system the most important points on the Delaware and Hudson (Manhattan Island excepted) were taken by the patroons. The most noted of them was Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. He obtained a grant which embraced the greater part of what are now Albany, Van Rensselaer, and Columbia counties, on the Hudson. This princely estate covered more than a thousand square miles, and extended for twenty-four miles along the river.

He and his brother capitalists on the Hudson lived in the midst of their tenants like the feudal barons in their castles on the Rhine. They collected their rents, held their courts, and at one time levied tolls on all vessels passing their estates. The Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, Livingstons, Schuylers and other wealthy families built elegant mansions on Manhattan Island, or vicinity. In the summer they went to their country places, in winter they returned to their homes on the Island. Like the Virginia planters they had their retinue of black servants in livery (for negro slavery was permitted in New Netherland). With the Virginians, these wealthy Dutch proprietors constituted the chief landed aristocracy of America.

59. The Dutch on the Connecticut; New Amsterdam in 1643; free trade and cheap lands. — Not satisfied with holding the Delaware and Hudson the Dutch endeavored to establish settlements on the Connecticut. They first explored that noble river, and opened trade with the Indians on its banks; and on land which they purchased of the Pequots they built a small fort (1633) where the city of Hartford now stands.

Ten years later (1643) a French Jesuit priest visited New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. He describes the town as having a population of four or five hundred persons composed "of different sects and nations."[76] This fact shows that the germ of the great city which now stands at the mouth of the Hudson was even then assuming that many-sided, cosmopolitan character which it has ever since retained. The West India Company had been mindful of the demands of education and had established (1633) a good school in New Amsterdam. It still flourishes under the name of the "School of the Collegiate Reformed Church," and is the oldest institution of learning in the United States (§ 93).

But the colony did not grow. The patroon system kept the better class of emigrants away, and there was no freedom of trade. Most of the early governors were rapacious or inefficient, and cared nothing for the best interests of New Netherland. At length the government in Holland resolved to throw open the trade of the colony, and to grant lands on easy terms to all comers. These measures had the desired effect, and emigration to the Dutch colony on the Hudson began in earnest.[77]

60. Peter Stuyvesant; the people demand a share in the government; the "Nine Men"; attempted reforms. — A few years later (1647) Peter Stuyvesant, the last of the Dutch governors, came into power. He found no small political discontent among the colonists. Most of them had come from the Dutch Republic of Holland only to find less liberty in the New World than they had enjoyed in the Old. While the English colonists east and south of them made their own local laws, the settlers on the Hudson were under the control of a commercial company, whose prime object was to pay large dividends to its stockholders. Governor Stuyvesant had no faith in democracy, but he could not resist the demands of the colonists for a share in the government. The people were accordingly permitted (1647) to elect eighteen counsellors, from whom the Governor chose "Nine Men" to assist him.

The "Nine Men" did excellent work. They protested against the heavy taxes and the enormous export duties imposed by the West India Company. They also called attention to the fact that the port charges were so exorbitant that trade was kept away. Stuyvesant answered that it was no fault of his if he had to serve greedy and tyrannical masters. Then the "Nine Men" petitioned the home Government to take the management of the colony out of the Company's hands, to take off all restrictions on trade, to send over emigrants free, to clearly define the boundaries of New Netherland, so as to avoid disputes with the English colonists, and finally to grant to the Dutch settlers a Representative Assembly such as their countrymen enjoyed in Holland. To prevent trouble the West India Company grudgingly granted a larger measure of political liberty than the colonists had yet possessed. The better class of citizens in New Amsterdam were permitted to elect a body of magistrates "as much as possible according to the customs" of the city of Amsterdam in Holland. But when the day of election arrived, the imperious Stuyvesant quietly appointed all the officers himself.

61. Religious intolerance; treatment of Quakers. — In matters of religion Stuyvesant was as arbitrary as he was in politics. He refused to permit any congregations to worship openly except those of the Dutch Reformed Church — the established Protestant Church of Holland. He ordered (1656) that any one preaching without a license should be condemned to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, while each hearer was to pay a fine of twenty-five. The Company felt that this was pushing matters too far, since private dissenting worship was tolerated in Holland. They rebuked the Governor and ordered him to grant all citizens "the free exercise of their religion within their own homes." [78]

The next year (1657) one of that "Society of Friends," which the Massachusetts authorities called the "cursed sect of Quakers" (§ 96), came to New Amsterdam. The Governor

was furious. After repeated scourgings and solitary imprisonment in the dungeon of the fort, the Quaker was finally driven out of the province. Later the Governor issued a proclamation prohibiting the public exercise of any religion but that of the Dutch Reformed Church "in houses, barns, woods, ships, or fields." For a third offence against this law the offender was to be flogged.

The Company again rebuked Stuyvesant's misdirected zeal. This time the hot-headed Governor obeyed orders, and persecution ceased.

62. England claims New Netherland, takes it (1664), and re-names it New York. — But the end of Stuyvesant's administration and of Dutch rule in New Netherland was at hand. England claimed the colony by virtue of Cabot's discovery (§ 11). The English had two powerful reasons for insisting on this claim. In the first place the British Government lost about £10,000 a year in custom duties through the Dutch smugglers who secretly carried Virginia tobacco to Holland.

But the chief reason why England was determined to possess New Netherland was that the King was resolved to have a strong, united, and compact line of colonies on the Atlantic coast. This was impossible so long as the Dutch held the Hudson, since a glance at the map shows that New Netherland was a geographical wedge separating New England from the English colonies on the south.

Although England and Holland were then at peace, Charles II., assuming that the country on the Hudson was rightfully his, quietly made over the whole of it to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany. James at once sent over a fleet under Colonel Nicolls to seize the prize. Nicolls (1664) demanded the surrender of New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant replied: "I would rather be carried out dead than give up the fort." But the people were weary of the rule of the West India Company and were willing to accept the liberal terms promised by the English. The high-spirited Governor could not help himself,

and so sorrowfully surrendered. The Dutch flag was hauled down and the red cross of England rose triumphantly in its place. In honor of its ducal owner, New Netherland was now christened New York, Fort Orange became Albany, and New Amsterdam took the title of New York City.[79]

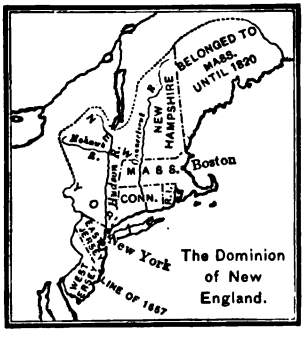
63. The Duke's Laws; the Duke grants a "Charter of Liberties" (1683); repeals it (1685). — Colonel Nicolls prepared a code known as the "Duke's Laws," which established: (1) equal taxation; (2) trial by jury; (3) the obligation of military duty; (4) freedom of religion to all Christians.

Later (1683) Colonel Thomas Dongan, an Irish Catholic, who was then Governor of New York, wrote to the Duke of York: "The people generally cry out for an Assembly." The Duke reluctantly granted the colony (1683) a Charter of Liberties. This provided: 1. That every freeholder should have the right to vote for representatives to an Assembly, whose laws (made by the Governor's Council and Assembly jointly) should be subject to the Duke's approval. 2. No taxes were to be levied, except by consent of the Assembly. 3. Entire freedom of religion was guaranteed to all peaceable persons who should profess any recognized form of Christian faith.[80]

Two years later (1685) the Duke became King of England with the title James II. It was at the time when his friend and ally, Louis XIV. of France, was creating "a world-wide religious panic" by driving all Protestants out of France. Thousands of distressed and destitute Huguenots fled to England and to the English colonies in America. Wherever they settled they roused the fear and hatred of the colonists against the French monarch. James hated free institutions; as for legislatures, he said he "could see no use for them." He at once wrote to Governor Dongan: "Our will and pleasure is that the charter be forthwith repealed." Thus early in its career the New York Assembly found the truth of the Psalmist's advice: "Put not your trust in princes." The King's mandate

suppressed the Assembly and reduced the colony to the condition of a conquered province. To prevent the open expression of discontent the people were forbidden to have a printing-press. On the other hand, James II., as a Catholic, keenly felt the severity of the English laws against members of that Church, and he now granted entire liberty throughout the colony "to all persons of what religion soever." [81]

64. Dongan's treaty with the Iroquois; Sir Edmund Andros. — Governor Dongan saw that the Iroquois or "Five Nations" formed the real bulwark of New York against the hostile designs of the French in Canada. He succeeded in securing the friendship of the most important tribes. The Iroquois chiefs said to him: "We will fight the French as long as we have a man left." Most of the Mohawks kept their word, but Louis XIV. entrapped the rest of the "Five Nations" into a treaty of neutrality. Governor Dongan never grew slack in his defence of the colony; after he retired from office he mortgaged his farm to raise money to equip the expedition sent (1690) against Canada.



In 1686 James consolidated the provinces of New York, New Jersey and New England under the name of the Dominion of New England and made Sir Edmund Andros governor-general of the province with his headquarters at Boston. The consolidation brought these colonies more directly under the King's control and by putting Andros in command made it easier to repel the designs of the French. Speaking of the new province, James said: "I will make it a tower of iron." [82]

65. Revolution in England; Louis XIV. declares war against England and her colonies; excitement in Boston. — But the reign of James was near its close. It was quite

generally believed in England that the King intended to overthrow the Protestant religion and the constitutional rights of the nation by force of arms. William, Prince of Orange, James's son-in-law and head of the Dutch Republic, was invited by a number of leading men of both political parties to come with an army to the defence of English liberty. He did so, and James fled to France (1689). Louis XIV. then declared war against England and her American colonies. When the news reached Boston, the citizens rose and threw Andros, James's representative, into prison.[83]

In the city of New York a story was started that Nicholson, the deputy-governor, was plotting to burn the town and massacre all Protestants. What made this report more absurd was the fact that there were hardly any Catholics at that time in New York, while the Dutch and English Protestant population numbered about three thousand.

66. Frontenac prepares to attack New York; Jacob Leisler seizes the fort and is chosen Governor. — The danger of invasion from Canada was imminent. Frontenac, the French Governor of Quebec, was preparing to attack the colony both by land and sea. Louis XIV. had sent him secret orders to seize New York, and either drive the people into the wilderness to starve, or imprison them at hard labor. This order did not except Catholics even, unless they should submit and swear allegiance to the King of France.[84]

William of Orange had now become King of England, but as Governor Nicholson of New York had not received official notification of the fact, he still considered James II. as the true sovereign and declined to proclaim William as his successor. For this reason Jacob Leisler, captain of a company of New York militia, denounced the Governor as a "Papist." The captain had seen something of the sufferings of the fugitive Huguenots, and hated the name of Catholic as bitterly and blindly as Louis XIV. hated that of Protestant. Suddenly the report came that a French fleet was on its way up the

harbor. The city was thrown into a panic, and Leisler, heading a band of citizens, seized the fort, declaring that he would hold it until King William should send a Protestant to demand it.[85]

Shortly after this Nicholson sailed for England, and an Assembly, partially representing the colony, created Leisler governor. The property holders and conservative citizens were opposed to him, but the masses gave him their hearty support. For nearly two years (1689–1691) he ruled New York as absolutely as Louis XIV. ruled France.[86]

67. The French Canadians burn Schenectady; Leisler calls the first American Congress; execution of Leisler. — Frontenac now (1690) secretly sent a force of French and Indians from Canada to attack Albany. They did not dare assail that place, but burned Schenectady, then the most western town in New York, and massacred most of the inhabitants. In this emergency Leisler took prompt action. He called a Colonial Congress to meet (1690) in the city of New York. To this Congress, the first in America, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut sent delegates to confer with those of New York. It was resolved to raise an army to invade Canada.

Meanwhile King William had appointed Colonel Sloughter Governor of New York. In the autumn of 1690 an English captain arrived who claimed to represent him, and demanded the keys of the fort. As the captain failed to produce any authority for making the demand, Leisler refused to give up the keys. Fighting ensued and several persons were killed on each side. The next spring the new Governor came, and the fort was promptly given up to him. Sloughter at once arrested Leisler and his son-in-law Milbourne, on a charge of murder and high treason. They were tried, convicted, and hanged. For many years afterward New York was divided into two intensely bitter factions, — the Leislerites and the Anti-Leislerites. The former represented the mass of the people, the latter the wealthier and more influential citizens. The Leislerites

looked upon their dead leader as a martyr in the cause of liberty; their opponents denounced him as a demagogue, a fanatic, and a usurper.[87]

68. Severe treatment of Catholics. — Governor Sloughter, acting under instructions from King William (1689), restored the Assembly (§ 63) and granted "liberty of conscience" to all persons except Catholics. Some years later (1696) a plot was hatched in France for assassinating King William and restoring James II. to the English throne. The news of this conspiracy excited great alarm in the province of New York. The colonists believed that the Canadian French were preparing to again attack the settlements on the Hudson River, and that the Catholics of New York would take sides with the French, since they both held the same faith. In consequence of this alarm the Governor of New York commanded that all persons not Protestants should be disarmed. The Assembly (1700) ordered priests to leave the colony, under penalty of imprisonment for life.[88] The next year (1701) the Assembly deprived Catholic laymen of the right to vote. Meanwhile William had restored the Charter of Liberties (§ 63), but with the omission of the toleration clause which had granted freedom of worship;[89] hence the new form of charter virtually confirmed the action of the Assembly against the Catholics.[90] Six years later (1697) William annulled the Charter of Liberties on the ground that it gave too much power to the people;[91] he also greatly extended the authority of the royal Governor.

69. The Zenger case; freedom of the press established. — In 1732 a case came before the Supreme Court of New York which had a most important bearing on the question of popular rights. Governor Cosby, an avaricious and unscrupulous ruler, brought a suit in that court to obtain a sum of money; the court decided the case against him. In his rage the Governor removed the chief-justice and appointed a new judge.

The colonists generally strongly opposed the change. They believed that if a judge could be removed at pleasure there

would be small hope of getting justice from the courts. But the people protested in vain, for the Assembly, which was wholly under royalist influence, defended Cosby, and the only newspaper then printed in the colony did the same.

At this juncture Peter Zenger, a German printer, boldly came out (1733) with the first number of an opposition paper — the "New York Weekly Journal" — devoted to the defence of the rights of the people. The "Journal" did not hesitate to attack the Governor in the most high-handed way. It not only fired broadsides of editorials at his administration but assaulted him personally with showers of stinging jibes and satirical ballads.[92]

The sheriff seized the offending paper and burned it. Shortly afterward the publisher of it was arrested thrown into prison and accused of "false, malicious, seditious, and scandalous libel." When the case came up for trial the venerable Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia — the foremost lawyer of his day — volunteered to defend Zenger. Hamilton offered to prove the truth of the charges which his client had made. The judge refused to hear him, on the ground that the English law declared "the greater the truth the greater the libel."[93]

Hamilton then devoted his whole attention to the jury. He insisted that they should decide both the fact and the law of the case. His eloquent defence of the freedom of the press, and the wit, sarcasm, and skill with which he attacked the Governor completely won over the jury. They brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty." The verdict was hailed with shouts of applause; the fact that the letter of the law was really against Zenger only made his friends shout the louder.

The decision of this case established the liberty of the press in New York to criticise the acts of the Government, and it encouraged other colonies to maintain the same liberty. That freedom, though liable to gross abuse, has nevertheless in many cases proved itself a safeguard of the rights of the people against the encroachments of arbitrary power.[94]

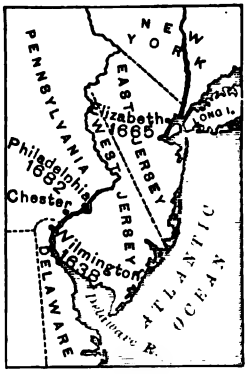
70. The Governor vs. the Assembly; the Assembly limits its money appropriations. — The joy shown at Zenger's acquittal revealed the determined spirit of resistance which existed against the oppressive use of authority. That spirit soon manifested itself in another form. The Governor of New York regarded the Assembly mainly as a valuable labor-saving machine for collecting taxes — of which he pocketed a goodly share as salary for his services. Virtually he said to the representatives of the people: "Your business is to raise whatever money I demand; mine is to spend it as I see fit." The Assembly resented this attitude and (1736) refused to grant more money annually than should be required to meet the necessary expenses of the year. Later (1739), they voted to limit all appropriations to specified purposes. They were determined to know just how the Governor spent every shilling. Naturally he resented this action. The result was that from this time an almost incessant battle was waged between the titled representatives of royalty on the one hand and the taxpayers on the other. The contest was not confined to New York, but was carried on in all the colonies in which the governors were not chosen by the people. It grew more and more bitter and became in considerable measure, one of the causes of the Revolution.

71. Summary. — In 1609 Henry Hudson discovered the river which now bears his name. The Dutch took possession of the country, named it New Netherland, founded the city of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, and established the patroon system of colonization. In 1664 the English, under the Duke of York, seized New Netherland and named it New York. The people were given representation, and for a time religious liberty prevailed, but later, fear of French invasion led to the enactment of severe laws against the Catholics. Jacob Leisler seized the fort of New York in order to defend the colony against the French; later, Peter Zenger came forward as the successful champion of freedom of the press. The con-

stant disputes between the people and the royal Governors over money appropriations became one cause of the Revolution.

III. New Jersey (1617).

72. New Jersey (1617); The Dutch claim the country between the Hudson and the Delaware; the English King grants the land to the Duke of York; the name New Jersey. — The Dutch, after opening the fur trade with the Indians on the Hudson, crossed over from Manhattan Island and built a fort at Bergen (1617) on the west bank of the river. Later (1623), they built a fort on the Delaware nearly opposite the present site of Philadelphia, and claimed the territory between these two forts as part of their province of New Netherland.[95]



The English denied the validity of the Dutch claims and insisted that the discovery of the North American continent by Cabot gave them the right to the mainland as far south as the Spanish settlements in Florida.[96] In accordance with this theory Charles II. included this region in a grant which he made (1664) to his brother James, Duke of York. The Duke sold (1664) the portion between the Hudson and the Delaware to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.[97]

Carteret had been governor of the island of Jersey, and during the English Civil War had made a most determined stand for King Charles I., the Duke of York's father. In honor of his loyalty the Duke gave the colony the name of New Jersey. It was the first English province, except Maryland, which had a definite, natural, western boundary — namely the Delaware River.

73. Elizabethtown founded (1665); grant of a liberal constitution; dispute about land rents. — Philip Carteret, a nephew of Sir George, went out as governor to New Jersey (1664) with a company of emigrants. They named their place of settlement (1665) Elizabethtown, out of regard for Lady Elizabeth, wife of Sir George Carteret.

The proprietors of New Jersey granted the colonists a constitution which conferred the power of taxation and of law-making on a legislature of which the Assembly, or Lower House, was chosen directly by the people.[98] Liberty of conscience was granted to all peaceable persons.[99]

Berkeley and Carteret later (1670) demanded a land rent of a half-penny per acre. The settlers refused to pay it on the ground that they had purchased their land from the Indians, who were the original and sole owners of it.

74. The Quakers purchase West Jersey (1673); William Penn; Government of the colony; religion. — Disappointed in his plans of colonization, Berkeley sold his share of the territory (1674) to two English Quakers. Shortly after this transaction the colony (1676) was divided into the equal portions of East and West Jersey.[100] Carteret held the eastern and the Quaker proprietors the western half of the province.

William Penn's name now first appears in American history. He, with several other English Quakers, obtained (1676) possession of West Jersey. Their object was to provide a refuge in the New World for their persecuted religious brethren. A settlement named Salem (1676) was made on the Delaware, and the next year (1677) Burlington was founded. Penn, with his fellow proprietors, wrote to the settlers in the true spirit of the Golden Rule, saying, "We cannot suffer if you prosper, nor prosper while you are injured."[101] In their instructions to the commissioners of West Jersey the proprietors declared: "We put the power in the people."[102]

In accordance with this principle the new proprietors granted the colonists a charter (1676) which gave them a direct voice in

making their own local laws and in levying their own taxes.[103] Unfortunately the charter vested the executive power of the colony in a body of ten commissioners appointed by the Legislature, and in practice it was found that these commissioners generally made themselves masters of the commonwealth.[104]

Entire liberty of worship was established; for the charter declared that no one "on earth hath power to rule over men's consciences in religious matters." [105] But somewhat more than twenty years later (1699), after the two colonies had been united, the people of New Jersey — following the example set by England, or perhaps in obedience to a mandate of the King — refused to tolerate the Catholic faith. That law remained on the statute books of the State for nearly a century and a half, or until 1844, but it had long been a dead letter.

75. The Quakers and the Indians; the Quakers buy East Jersey; thrift and independence. — The Quakers completely gained the confidence of the Indians by their fair dealing. The Red Men declared that if they found an Englishman sleeping in their path they would not molest him, but would say: "He is an Englishman; he is asleep; let him alone." [106]

When Carteret died, Penn and his associates purchased (1682) the whole of East Jersey for the sum of £3400,[107] a sum which would not now buy a first-class business lot in Jersey City. The colonists prospered, and the Governor reported (1683): "There is not a poor body in all the province." [108]

Their spirit of independence was equal to their thrift. When the Duke of York endeavored to collect toll on vessels going up the Delaware, the people refused to pay it. The King of England himself, said they, cannot take his subjects' goods without their consent, still less can his brother, the Duke of York.[109] In the decided stand the Quakers then took, those men of peace anticipated the utterances of the Revolution.

76. Andros; New Jersey became a royal province; President Witherspoon. — In 1688 New Jersey was united with New York and New England under the government of Sir Edmund

Andros. After he was forced to give up his office (§ 65) a period of great confusion ensued. New Jersey was claimed by New York, by the Quakers, and by the heirs of Carteret. So hot was the dispute that the people in despair declared that there was "no shadow of law or government left," but in the towns good order still prevailed.[110] For the sake of peace the province was surrendered (1702) to the Crown.

When (1765) England finally resolved to tax the American colonists without their consent, John Witherspoon, a descendant of that stern old Scotch covenanter, John Knox, led the great movement of revolt in New Jersey. Later, after he had accepted the presidency of Princeton College, he won the reputation of being "as high a 'Son of Liberty' as any in America." He helped to overthrow the Tory, William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, and the last royal Governor of the province. Governor Franklin declared that if the colonists were right in saying that the British ministry had gone mad, the people of New Jersey were in the same predicament.[111] But the Americans had this advantage: they at least had method — the method of independence — in their madness, and President Witherspoon, with other eminent patriots, including Governor Franklin's own father, stood ready to risk their fortunes and their lives to maintain that independence.

77. Summary. — In 1664 the Duke of York wrested the country between the Hudson and the Delaware from the Dutch, and sold it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The colony received the name of New Jersey, and the first settlement was made at Elizabethtown (1665). The colonists received a constitution which granted them liberty of conscience in matters of religion and gave them a voice in making the laws and levying the taxes of the colony. About ten years later William Penn and other Quakers purchased the western half of New Jersey and subsequently the remaining half. Their object was to provide a refuge in America for persecuted people of their own faith. In 1702 the colony became a royal province. When

(1765) England resolved to tax the colonists without their consent, President Witherspoon, of Princeton College, headed the movement of revolt which culminated in the War for Independence.

IV. Massachusetts (Plymouth Colony, 1620).

78. Religious revolution in England; the Puritans and the Separatists. — When, under Henry VII., John Cabot (1497) claimed the continent of North America for England (§ 11), that kingdom, like all Europe, maintained the Catholic religion as the only true faith. Had Henry planted colonies in America he would have established Catholicism here and would have forbidden any other form of worship.

Under Henry VIII. a revolution took place. He repudiated the authority of the Pope in England and established a new and independent national Church, which was compelled to acknowledge the King as its supreme head. Under Elizabeth this new national Church became definitively Protestant, although a considerable part of the population continued to keep up the Catholic form of worship in private.

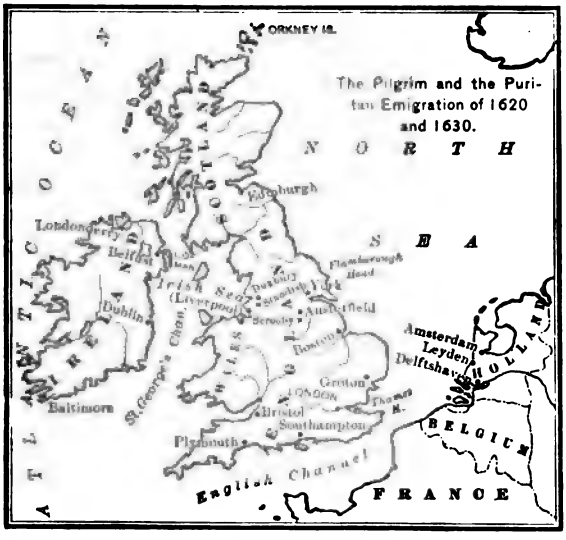
When James I. came to the throne he found England divided between the Catholics, the Anglicans (or regular members of the established Episcopal Church), the Puritans, and the Separatists (or Independents). The Puritans were members of the established Church, who regarded the Protestant revolution in England as incomplete. They urged that the English worship should be "*purified*" (as they said) from what Calvin called "Popish dregs." They desired the Episcopal clergy to give up wearing the surplice, making the sign of the cross in baptism, and using the ring in the marriage service.

The Separatists were a branch of the Puritans who had gone a step farther. "Seeing," as they said, that "they could not have the word freely preached and the sacraments administered

without idolatrous gear, they concluded to break off from public churches, and *separate* in private houses." [112]

James refused to permit any deviation from the forms of public worship established by law. He believed that dissent would lead to disloyalty, and that if divisions were tolerated in religion the Crown itself would be endangered.

He formulated this conviction of the indispensable unity of



Church and State in his favorite saying, "No Bishop, no King." His harsh laws drove both loyal Catholics and loyal Puritans to despair. He said of the latter class, "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land." [113] If this was to be the King's policy toward the Puritans who still remained in the Church, what could the Separatists who had seceded from it expect?

79. A congregation of Separatists escape to Holland; why they wished to emigrate to America. — A small congregation of Separatists were in the habit of privately meeting at

the house of William Brewster, the postmaster of the village of Scrooby, in the northeastern corner of Nottinghamshire. Finding that they could not safely remain in England, they resolved to go to Holland "where they had heard was freedom of religion for all men."[114] After much suffering they succeeded (1608) in escaping from England to Leyden. There these plain English farmers learned different trades and managed, by dint of severe toil, to support themselves and their families. After ten years of this life some of the exiles began to think of embarking for America. William Bradford, one of their most prominent men, gives the following reasons for their desire to emigrate:

1. The hardships of their life were so great that many who had come to join them went back, preferring, as they said, "prisons in England rather than liberty in Holland."

2. Some of them felt age creeping upon them, and saw with sorrow that exhausting labor was rendering their children "decrepit in their early youth."

3. Furthermore, it was a sore grief to parents to see that oftentimes their children, when they grew up, were led astray by the "manifold temptations of the place," while others, leaving their homes, went to sea or entered the army.

4. Finally, the Separatists saw that if they should continue to remain in Holland their descendants would in time forget not only their native customs, but even their native language, — in fact, would practically cease to be Englishmen at all.

By going to America they hoped to build up a strong, prosperous English colony, enjoying entire liberty of worship, and "advancing the gospel in those remote parts of the world." Lastly, they hoped, as they said, to serve as "stepping-stones unto others for performing so good a work."[115]

80. The Separatists and the "merchant adventurers"; the patent; the joint-stock company. — As the Separatists were too poor to undertake such an expedition at their own expense, they bargained with a body of "merchant adventurers,"

or speculators, in London to provide vessels for them to cross the Atlantic. A patent granted by the Virginia Company gave them the right to settle "about Hudson's River." [116]

They agreed to take the Oaths of Supremacy and of Allegiance. They thus bound themselves to recognize the King as the lawful head of the Church of England and as their rightful sovereign.[117] James promised not to interfere with the undertaking, and when told that the emigrants expected to get their living by fishing, replied, with a spice of humor: "'T is an honest trade; 't was the Apostles' own calling."

A joint-stock company was organized, consisting of "merchant adventurers" and the outgoing settlers. The conditions were as follows:

All the emigrants who could not pay £10 into the general fund were to devote the results of seven years' labor to the "common stock." [118] Out of that stock they were to receive "meat, drink and apparel." "At the end of seven years . . . the houses [and] lands [were] to be equally divided" among the stockholders; each person sixteen years old or upward, at the time of sailing, to receive one share of the profits.[119]

These were hard terms, for they required the colonists to pledge their whole time and strength for a long period and for a very uncertain result. Some of them indignantly declared that such conditions were "fitter for thieves and bond-slaves than [for] honest men"; but they could get no better.

In 1620 they left Leyden for England, there to embark on their voyage across the Atlantic. It was a perilous undertaking and the prospect of success was small; but, as Bradford said, "They knew that they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lifted their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." [120] In his farewell sermon their faithful pastor, John Robinson, spoke words of cheer, bidding them go forward in the belief that "the Lord had more truth and light yet to break out of his holy word." [121]

All told, the actual number of Pilgrims who set sail in the "Mayflower" was less than a hundred. Among those who went with them was Myles Standish, an English soldier who had fought in the wars in Holland. He was not a member of the Pilgrim congregation, but simply a true, brave-hearted man, who was glad to cast his lot with those who were as brave and true-hearted as himself. Of the Pilgrims proper the most prominent were Bradford, Brewster, Winslow and Carver.

On reaching Cape Cod the emigrants decided to settle on the New England coast, although their patent was "for Virginia" only. Knowing this fact, some of the hired men threatened to use their liberty as they pleased. It seemed best, therefore, to form a plan of union for maintaining order.[122] To this end the Pilgrim Fathers drew up a compact (November 21, 1620) in the cabin of the "Mayflower." By that compact, which received forty-one signatures, they formed themselves into "a civil body politic" and bound themselves as Christians and as loyal subjects of King James to enact "such just and equal laws . . . as shall be thought most meet . . . for the general good of the colony."[123] They then chose John Carver governor. After Carver's death William Bradford was chosen, and he filled the office for thirty-one years.

After carefully exploring the coast, the Pilgrims found a satisfactory harbor and landed, December 21, 1620, on that bowlder which has ever since been known as Plymouth Rock. During the ensuing winter death visited them daily. When the Mayflower sailed for England in the spring (1621) nearly half of the settlers were in their graves. But not one of the little band of survivors thought of returning in

the ship, — they had come here resolved to make America their home. Their nearest civilized neighbors were a few Dutch on the Hudson and the Virginia colonists five hundred miles south of them.

81. The Pilgrims and the Indians. — Governor Carver made a treaty with Massasoit, chief of a small neighboring tribe of Indians. The treaty, though not ratified by any oath, was faithfully kept on both sides. Two years later (1623) the Indians of a tribe at Weymouth, about thirty miles north of Plymouth, conspired to kill off a small independent colony of English who had settled at that point (1622) and had provoked the savages by their bad conduct. Massasoit warned the Plymouth settlers of the plot, and told them that if successful the same tribe would next attack them. Captain Myles Standish, small of stature but great of heart, with eight followers, marched against the savages and soon brought back the head of one of the leaders. It was the first and last Indian war in which the Pilgrims took part until they rose to put down King Philip (1675) more than half a century later. The Indians, in fact, were most helpful; they showed the colonists how to plant corn, trap game, and catch fish to the best advantage.

82. The "Pilgrim Republic"; freedom of worship; Government. — The settlers at Plymouth, though acknowledging themselves subjects of King James, practically formed themselves into a little republic. Their Church was bound by no creed. Its members simply signed a covenant by which they pledged themselves "as the Lord's free people . . . to walk in all his ways made known, or to be made known to them." [124] Politically all were equal. In the outset they assembled in town-meeting to make necessary laws, to choose officers for the colony, and to act as a court of justice. Newcomers might vote (1636) if a majority of the original colonists admitted them as freemen; but it was decreed that no one should settle within the limits of Plymouth except by permission of the Governor or two of his Assistants.[125] To-day the

Government of the United States, following that wise precedent, determines what emigrants may or may not land on our shores.

In time the growth of the colony made it inconvenient for the whole population to gather in a single town-meeting, and each of the different settlements (1638) sent two representatives to Plymouth to act for them. But even then the body of the people expressly retained the right to repeal the laws made by their representatives.[126]

Later (1644), the right to vote for a representative was limited to those who took the oath of fidelity to the colony, — those who refused to do so were ordered to leave the settlement.[127]

After the coming of the Quakers into the neighboring colony of Massachusetts Bay, a statute (1658) was enacted declaring that persons of that faith and all others who "opposed the good and wholesome laws of the colony" . . . "the true worship of God," or who refused to do military service, should be denied the right of suffrage.[128] Finally (1671), fifty years after the founding of Plymouth, suffrage, though not limited by church membership, was restricted to persons "of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and such as have also £20 of ratable [taxable] estate."[129]

The sturdy independence of the colonists manifested itself in a declaration which the legislature of the "Pilgrim Republic" made in 1671. That body then resolved that "as free-born subjects of the State of England . . . no act . . . shall be . . . imposed upon us at present or to come, but such as shall be made . . . by consent of the body of freemen . . . or their representatives, legally assembled."[130]

83. The "merchant adventurers"; Myles Standish goes to England; the Pilgrims become free men. — The growth of the colony was very slow. Lack of capital prevented the settlers from engaging in cod-fishing, and the chief exports were furs obtained from the Indians. The "merchant adventurers," who were grievously disappointed at the small returns received, at length refused to do anything more to aid the colonists,

though they insisted on holding them to their labor contract.[131] Governor Bradford wrote that the "adventurers" finally threatened in their anger "that if we ever do grow to any good estate they will nip us in the head."[132]

In these straits the Plymouth people sent Captain Myles Standish (1625) to England to seek help. He could not get the contract cancelled, but succeeded at length in borrowing £200 for the use of the colonists at thirty per cent interest.[133]

The next year (1626) the "merchant adventurers" sold out their share to the colonists for £1800, — equal probably to at least $20,000 now, — to be paid in nine annual installments. The whole colony went to work with a will, and in six years had discharged the debt and were free men. In future all that they earned was their own. Meanwhile they tried to obtain a royal charter which should give them power to regularly organize a government. In this they failed; but they obtained a patent from the Council of New England which granted them a certain fixed territory (1629), but nothing more.[134]

84. The Massachusetts Bay Colony absorbs Plymouth Colony (1691). — In 1630 the Massachusetts Bay Company settled Boston. The growth of the new colony was comparatively rapid, and after a time the people of Massachusetts endeavored to secure the annexation of Plymouth. But the Plymouth people preferred to stand by themselves; as one of their chief men quaintly said: the best of them had no desire "to trot after the *Bay* horse." Massachusetts, however, succeeded in her plans, and in 1691 a royal charter consolidated the two colonies. This, of course, ended the history of Plymouth as a distinct colony. But the little Pilgrim Republic had made its record and could afford to merge its political life in that of the stronger and richer Puritan commonwealth.

The Pilgrims were the first settlers who obtained a permanent foothold on the New England coast. In religious matters they showed remarkable tolerance. They too were the first colonists of the New World who established the management of all public

affairs in town-meeting. Thereby they laid the foundation in America of that democratic system which ripened in time into "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

IV*a*. Massachusetts Bay Colony (1630).

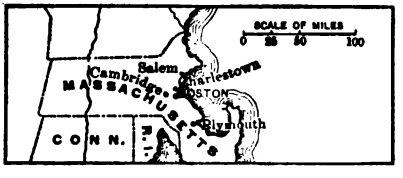
85. The Puritan emigration to New England; John Endicott; charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony. — The emigration of the Pilgrims to America (1620) was the forerunner of a far greater emigration on the part of the Puritans ten years later.

Political and religious persecution drove them to seek a refuge in New England. John Endicott, a Puritan of the Puritans, conducted the first party of emigrants (1628) to a point on the shores of Massachusetts to which they gave the biblical name of Salem. In his fiery zeal Endicott (1635) slashed the red cross out of the English flag, because it seemed to him an emblem of popery; and he shipped two members of his council back to England for insisting on making use of the Episcopal prayer-book in public worship.

The year after Endicott sailed, a number of wealthy and influential Puritans obtained a royal charter [185] granting them all the territory in New England lying between a point three miles north of the River Merrimac and a point three miles south of the River Charles. Westward the grant extended to the Pacific.[186] This charter empowered the Massachusetts Bay Company of England (1) to make laws, provided they should not be "contrary to the laws of England"; (2) to carry on trade; (3) to drive out obnoxious persons and intruders. Nothing was said about the establishment of any form of worship or of religious liberty. It was practically the charter of a trading company, and it seems to have been understood that the government of the colony was to remain in the hands of the corporation in England.[187]

86. John Winthrop; settlement of Boston (1630); large emigration; the Puritan church; Puritan government. — John Winthrop, a man of wealth and education, was elected (1629) governor of the Company. Believing, as he said, that the Puritans had "no place left to fly unto but the wilderness," [138] he quietly took the charter with him and led a large number of emigrants (1630) from England to Massachusetts. Not liking Salem, Winthrop went to Charlestown; a little later the colonists moved across the river to the three-peaked peninsula of Shawmut, which they named (1630) Boston.[139]

One of the first acts of the settlers was to form a covenant church [140] similar to that of Plymouth. Two Puritan ministers were chosen, and all the inhabitants were to be assessed to pay for the "maintenance of these ministers." [141] Before the end of the year a thousand emigrants in all had arrived, and in the course of the next ten years (1630–1640) more than twenty thousand had settled in New England. They were men who came not from hope of gain, but to obtain that religious and political liberty which was denied them at home. They represented the flower of English Puritanism.



Meanwhile, the original colonists (that is, the stockholders of the Massachusetts Bay Company) had established a government which was practically independent of both King and Parliament. By the provisions of the charter the freemen were to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and a council of eighteen assistants. This governing body was to meet in a "general court" and make all needful laws, not contrary to the laws of England.[142]

87. Alteration in the form of government; limitation of suffrage; the "freeman's oath." — At the first meeting of the General Court (1630) the form of government was altered. The freemen then agreed to surrender a part of their political

power, and to let the Assistants choose the Governor and his deputy from out their own number. But less than two years later, the freemen (1632) took this power out of the hands of the Assistants and resumed their charter right to elect the Governor and his deputy.[143]

Meanwhile (1631) a large number of men petitioned the General Court to be permitted to vote. Their request was granted on their taking the "freeman's oath," by which they swore allegiance to the King and fidelity to the colony. Shortly afterward (1634) the clause demanding allegiance to the King was dropped and all that was required was fidelity to the colony.

88. Important laws enacted; suffrage limited to church members (1631); liberal measures. — In 1631 two very important laws were enacted. Following the example set by Plymouth (§ 82), the authorities prohibited any person from settling within the territory of Massachusetts Bay without leave from the Company.[144]

Secondly, suffrage was limited by the following statute: "To the end [that] the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men . . . no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." [145]

Ten years later (1641) a law was passed to protect the liberties of all classes. It provided that "every man, whether inhabitant or foreigner," voter or not voter, should have the right to make any "necessary motion, complaint [or] petition" in any "court, council or town-meeting." [146]

Following this act the General Court (1647) granted to all persons of good character, though they were not church-members, the right to vote in town-meeting on local questions. They also had the right to serve on juries and offer themselves as candidates for town-offices.[147]

The liberal movement did not stop here. The conditions of admission to the Church were relaxed by a measure derisively called by its opponents the "Half-Way Covenant" (1662).

The natural effect of the Half-Way Covenant, in so far as it came into use, was to increase the number of church-members, and so swell the list of legal voters.[148]

Two years later (1664) the General Court, finding it expedient to conciliate the King, made a further concession. They gave to all persons who could show a certificate of orthodoxy, signed by an approved minister of the colony, the right to make application for the right to vote.[149]

89. Establishment of a House of Representatives (1634); purpose of the Puritans. — Meanwhile an event of no small importance had occurred. The General Court had levied a tax to build a palisade against the attacks of Indians. The leading citizens of Watertown refused to pay the demand, on the ground that there should be no taxation without representation.[150] Their refusal led to the establishment of a House of Representatives (1634) consisting of two persons chosen by each town. The men so chosen met with the Governor and his Assistants to advise with them respecting the raising of public money, and to take part in making all needful laws.[151] Thus Massachusetts became the second English colony (§ 43) to obtain the privilege of representative government; but in this case it was the work of the people themselves, not, as in Virginia, the gift of a company resident in England.

The avowed purpose of the settlers of Massachusetts was to establish an independent Puritan State composed of those, and those only, who professed their faith. They believed themselves to be a divinely chosen people. "God sifted a whole nation," said Governor Stoughton, "that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness."[152] Their intention, Governor Winthrop declared, was "to square all their proceedings by the rule of God's word" as they understood it.[153] They contended that their charter gave them the exclusive ownership and control of Massachusetts (subject of course to the King), and in that charter they believed they found authority to expel any one who should attempt "annoyance to said colony."[154]

90. Results of the exclusive policy of Massachusetts; resistance to the King. — But this exclusive policy had very important political results. 1. It moved the King to demand the surrender of the Massachusetts charter.[155] 2. It roused the colonists to evade or resist that demand; this they did with entire success for more than half a century. 3. On the other hand, the restriction of the right of suffrage to church-members (§ 88) endangered the stability of the colonial government. Only about one-fourth of the adult male inhabitants belonged to the church, and the result was that three-quarters of the men of Massachusetts had to submit, or preferred to submit, to laws which were made and enforced by the remaining quarter.[156]

The first demonstration of resistance to the King was unmistakable. When he (1634) threatened to take away the charter, the Massachusetts authorities took decisive action. They ordered new forts to be built and an alarm signal to be set up on Beacon Hill in Boston. Furthermore they commanded that citizens should be drilled in the use of arms, and they encouraged the casting of bullets by making them pass current as money at the rate of a farthing each.[157] Finally, to prevent the King's spies from reporting what they were doing, they passed a law (1637) ordering that no stranger or suspicious character should be permitted to remain in the colony.[158]

91. Roger Williams attacks the charter and the laws; he flies to Narragansett Bay. — At this critical period, when the charter was in peril, a new trouble arose. Roger Williams, an impetuous young Separatist minister (§ 69), had come over (1631) from England to Boston. The Puritan churches had not yet openly broken off all connection with the Church of England. Williams blamed them for not taking this final step. After preaching for a time in Salem, he removed to Plymouth and labored for the conversion of the Indians. While in the "Old Colony" Williams wrote a book, apparently not intended for publication, in which he attacked the Massachusetts

charter. He declared that since the territory belonged originally to the Indians, the King had no power to grant it to the colonists.[159]

Later, he withdrew this attack, and even offered his book "to be burnt"; but he now assailed the authorities on another point.[160] The General Court had ordered (1634–1635) that every man, whether a church-member or not, should swear to obey the laws and to defend the colony. Those who twice refused to take this oath were to be banished.[161]

Williams, who had returned to Salem, preached against this law. He declared that the Puritan authorities had no moral right to force an unconverted person to take an oath.[162] He also denied their right to punish those who refused to attend religious meetings, or for violation of the first four commandments, except "in such cases as did disturb the civil peace."[163]

The General Court summoned the preacher to retract, but he stood fast in his "rocky strength." The Court then (1635) ordered him to leave the colony, but finally allowed him to remain until spring, provided he did not "go about to draw others to his opinions."[164] Mr. Williams insisted on preaching in his own house on the prohibited points, and the authorities despatched a constable to arrest him. He fled through winter snows, and at the peril of his life, to the hospitable hut of Massasoit (§ 81) on Narragansett Bay.[165] He remained in that chief's smoky wigwam until spring, when he went forth and founded (1636) the colony of Providence.

92. The case of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. — The Puritan authorities had next to deal with a case more aggravating even than that of Roger Williams. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of "ready wit and bold spirit," had formed a kind of woman's club to discuss the sermons preached in Boston and vicinity. All went well until Mrs. Hutchinson began to indulge in sharp criticism. She commended the teaching of her friend, the Reverend Mr. Cotton, and of her brother-in-law, the Reverend Mr. Wheelwright, but she declared that

the other ministers made altogether too much of religious ceremonies and church attendance and not half enough of faith.

The discussion waxed so hot that Winthrop said the colonists were split into two hostile parties, — one of "works" and the other of "faith." A company of militia who were about to march against the Indians were unwilling to move, because their chaplain was accused of being "under a covenant of works," — or in other words of being more Jew than Christian. Next the dispute got into politics, and there was a Hutchinson and an anti-Hutchinson candidate for governor.

Finally, a meeting of ministers formally accused Mrs. Hutchinson of teaching no less than twenty-nine "cursed opinions." [166] Her brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelwright, who was said to hold the same dangerous views, was convicted of sedition, heresy, and contempt, and was banished (1637) from the colony. He went with some friends to New Hampshire and founded Exeter.

When Mrs. Hutchinson was brought to trial, she declared that God had revealed himself directly to her. "How?" asked her examiners. "By the voice of his own spirit to my soul," she replied.[167] She was expelled from the Church, "given over to Satan," and banished. She, with her husband and some friends, made a settlement on Rhode Island.

93. The Boston Latin School (1635); Harvard College (1636); establishment of public schools (1647). — Meanwhile the people of Massachusetts were taking action for those who were to succeed them. Some citizens of Boston (1635) founded the Boston Latin School, — the oldest educational institution established by English settlers in the United States (§ 59). Among the early pupils of that justly celebrated school we find the names of Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Adams, two of the staunchest patriots America ever produced.

The next autumn the General Court voted £400 — a large sum for the colonists of that day — to found a college.

Two years later (1638) Reverend John Harvard left property to it valued at £750, and gave to it his valuable library. In honor of these bequests the institution was named Harvard College. This Puritan university was wholly unsectarian. Its first seal had for its motto the single, expressive, Latin word *Veritas*.[168]

The next year (1639) — the same year in which the first press in the English colonies was established at Cambridge — the citizens of Dorchester ordered "that a free school shall be set up in this town."[169] Like the Boston Latin School, it was for boys only; girls then, and for many years to come, received all their instruction at home. In 1647 the General Court took action on a broad scale. It declared: "in order that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers" every township of fifty householders shall hire a schoolmaster "to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read."[170] The wages of the teacher were to be paid in such manner as the people should determine in town-meeting.

This law of 1647 established public schools that in time were to become "cheap enough for all, and good enough for the best." It laid the foundation of the free common school system of the United States.[171]

94. The New England Confederacy (1643). — In 1643 the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven formed a political and religious confederation. Its three chief objects were to keep the Dutch out of the Connecticut Valley, to put down insurrections of the Indians, and to assist masters to recover runaway apprentices and slaves.[172]

But more than this, the people of these four colonies felt that such a union would help them to maintain their liberties in case the King should threaten them.[173] The confederacy lasted about forty years. It was a prophecy of that union of all the colonies which was formed late in the next century and which was destined to secure American independence.

95. George Fox founds the "Society of Friends" or Quakers. — Shortly after the New England Confederacy went into operation, George Fox, the founder of the "Society of Friends," began to preach in England. He declared that God makes himself known directly to the human heart, and that whoever follows this divine "inner light" is sure of salvation. The Puritans regarded the Bible as the supreme rule of life. In their eyes George Fox was a revolutionist, striking at the very foundations of both Church and Scripture. But more than this, he seemed to most men of that age to threaten to destroy the bonds that hold society together.

1. The Quakers conscientiously refused to take any form of oath. They would not give evidence in this way in a court of justice or swear allegiance to any form of government. 2. Believing that war was wrong they would not bear arms in defence of the state or of their own homes. 3. They refused to pay taxes for the support of any ministry or church. 4. Believing that all men are equal in the sight of God, they refused to address any one, no matter what his rank, by any other title than that of "Friend," and they would not take off their hats to the King himself. They were mercilessly treated in England; and some of them, driven half-crazy by brutal punishments, indulged in actions which to-day would be regarded as proof of insanity.[174] The General Court of Massachusetts hearing of these things ordered (1656) that a day of fasting and prayer should be kept for fear that the teachings of the English Quakers should spread abroad.

96. Arrival of Quaker missionaries (1656); action against Quakers; Episcopalians and Baptists. — Shortly after this day of fasting and prayer two Quaker women arrived (1656) at Boston. They came to convert the New England colonists. The authorities threw them into jail, burned their books, and as soon as possible sent them to the West Indies.

The General Court now enacted (1656) a severe law against the "cursed sect of heretics . . . commonly called Quakers."

The act imposed a fine of £100 on the master of any vessel who should bring one of these people into the colony, and it ordered that every Quaker who entered Massachusetts should be severely flogged and then kept in close confinement until he could be sent to distant parts.[175]

But neither cruel scourgings, nor the cutting off of ears, nor threats of worse punishments could keep out these fervent apostles of the "inner light." They believed it to be as much their duty to preach to the Puritan Fathers as the Puritans believed it theirs to preach to the savages.

Baffled and exasperated, the General Court finally resolved, as they said, "to present the point of the sword toward the Quakers," and let them rush on it if they would.[176] An act was passed (1658) making it death for a banished Quaker to return to the colony.[177] The principle was not new, for a similar law respecting Jesuit and other Catholic priests had been on the Massachusetts statute books for many years.[178] Under this act four Quakers — one of whom was a woman — who had come back after having been twice banished were hanged on Boston Common (1661). These were the first and also the last persons of this faith who were put to death in Massachusetts. But nearly a quarter of a century later the English authorities were killing Covenanters by hundreds, and drowning women in Scotland for refusing to conform to the established Church.

The last exciting case of Quaker missionary work was that of Margaret Brewster (1677). She entered the Old South Meeting-House in Boston during the Sunday service. Margaret was dressed in sackcloth, her face was smeared with lampblack and her head covered with ashes. She had come, she said, like the prophet Jonah, to call the people of Boston to repent. Judge Sewall, who was present, says her sudden appearance "occasioned the greatest and most amazing uproar that I ever saw."[179] Margaret was condemned to be tied to a cart's tail and whipped through the streets. With her the conflict ended, and the Puritans gave up trying to silence these

new missionaries. Quaker persistence and Quaker non-resistance had fairly carried the day.

Meanwhile the Massachusetts authorities had sent (1660) a most humble address to the King.[180] They professed their entire loyalty. Later (1662), they promised His Majesty not to drive out any more Episcopalians (§ 85).[181]

Baptists had been forbidden to preach and had been repeatedly banished. President Dunster of Harvard College had embraced certain Baptist views. He was compelled to resign (1654) and to give bonds not to preach.[182] But by 1674 toleration so far prevailed that a member of that denomination wrote: "The church of the baptized [at East Boston] do peaceably enjoy their liberty."[183]

The Catholics first began public worship in the colony after the establishment of our national independence. The Unitarians and Universalists obtained toleration about the same time with the Catholics.

97. Eliot's work among the Indians; his Indian Bible. — The Reverend John Eliot of Roxbury — "the Apostle to the Indians" — had long been engaged (1646–1675) in his noble work. He believed that the Red Men were the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. He founded a settlement (1651) of "Praying Indians" at Natick, and (1653) he published, after many "heart-breakings" and years of toil, his translation of the Scriptures into the Indian language. It was the first Bible printed by an English colonist on the American continent. In the terrible outbreak of "King Philip's War" a number of Eliot's "Praying Indians" acted as military guides to the whites, while others fought in behalf of the colony.

98. "King Philip's" War (1675–1676); cause of the war; events; results. — So long as Massasoit (§ 81) lived he remained friendly to the whites; but his son, "King Philip," had no love for them. The colonists had purchased Indian territory until they had crowded Philip's tribe into two or three narrow necks of land projecting into Narragansett Bay. The

savage chief saw that the time was soon coming when the English would own all the hunting grounds, and when his people must emigrate, starve, or fight. He chose to fight.

Philip looked upon Eliot's "soft-hearted 'Praying Indians'" (§ 97) with suspicion and contempt. One of these Indians told (1675) the Governor of Plymouth that "King Philip" was preparing to make war. Some of that chief's followers murdered the informer. The Plymouth authorities arrested and hanged them. Philip retaliated by an attack (1675) on Swansea, the town nearest his headquarters at Mount Hope.

For some time the war was confined to southern Massachusetts and vicinity, but gradually the Indian tribes in the western part of the colony joined Philip. It now became evident that the struggle was to be a desperate one, especially in the Connecticut Valley, where the white settlements were small and scattered. The colonists had the advantage in numbers and in arms, but the Indians knew the forests perfectly, they were quick and stealthy as wild-cats, and they were pretty well supplied with muskets. Brookfield and Deerfield were attacked and burned, but Hadley escaped. According to tradition that town was saved by the sudden appearance of a venerable white-haired man who rallied the inhabitants and drove off the savages. The mysterious leader then disappeared. He was the regicide Goffe (§ 116), who had long lived concealed in the town.[184] A few weeks later (1675) the Indians surprised and cut to pieces a body of ninety men, — "the very flower of Essex," —

King Philip's War.

at "Bloody Brook," near Deerfield.[185] Then the New Englanders resolved to "root this nest of serpents out of the world." [186]

The next winter a colonial force, a thousand strong, burst into the Indian fort of the Narragansetts, on the west shore of Narragansett Bay. They set fire to the wigwams in the enclosure, and scores of Indians — helpless old men, women and children — perished in the flames. On the other hand, the savages burned (1676) Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Medfield and smaller towns. The temper of the Indians was illustrated by Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts. He was captured and when told he was to be shot, he answered, "I like it well, I shall die before my heart becomes soft." [187]

A little later, Captain Turner of Boston gained a great victory over the savages near Turner's Falls on the Connecticut. Then the Indians saw that fate was against them, and they began to lay down their arms and beg for peace.

It was the custom in England to sell prisoners taken in the civil wars. Following this example the colonists sold many of their red captives as slaves to the planters of the West Indies. King Philip's son, a boy of nine, was disposed of in this manner. Not long afterward, Captain Church of Plymouth, a famous fighter, surprised Philip near Mount Hope. The savage "king" was shot by one of his own men who had turned against him. At last the colonists "had prayed the bullet into his heart." [188] The death of the great chief virtually ended the contest. This was the last war between the whites and the natives in southern New England, — the power of the Indians in that section was broken for ever.

The losses of the war were very heavy. More than half of the towns in Massachusetts had been burned, and a tenth of all the fighting men in New England had either fallen in battle or had been carried off captive. Plymouth Colony, too, had suffered heavily. Its war debt exceeded in value the entire personal property of the inhabitants, but by years of toil they at last paid off every dollar of it, principal and interest.

99. Charles II. and the Massachusetts charter; the charter falls (1684). — Massachusetts was next called to deal with a power more formidable than Philip's warriors. When Charles II. confirmed the Massachusetts charter he did so on five conditions: (1) the colonists were to repeal all laws contrary to those of England; (2) they were to take the Oath of Allegiance; (3) justice was to be administered in the King's name; (4) liberty of worship was to be granted to Episcopalians; (5) all persons of respectable character, competent estate, and orthodox in religion, were to be allowed to vote.[189]

The General Court had partially complied with the order respecting the administration of justice in the King's name, but not with the other demands. The Commonwealth still refused to permit appeals from the colonial courts to the royal courts in England.

Commissioners were now (1664) sent over by the King to hear complaints. Plymouth Colony, Rhode Island, and Connecticut agreed to comply with the demands of the Crown, but Massachusetts refused to permit the Commissioners to sit as a court of appeal.[190]

Later, however, in the hope of saving their charter, the General Court ordered the oath of allegiance to the King to be administered.[191] This submission, however, made little difference in the end; for Charles was determined to rule absolutely, and to leave no chartered rights in England or in the colonies to resist his will.[192]

Massachusetts declared (1681) that she no longer withheld liberty of worship from Episcopalians or Baptists (§ 96); but it was easy to find other grounds of complaint, and it was moved in the King's court in London that the charter be annulled; no time was given to the colonists to plead their case, and (1684) the charter fell.[193] This was the end of the Puritan commonwealth. Henceforth it was to be ruled by the Crown.

100. Sir Edmund Andros; royal instructions; his rule; his overthrow. — James II., the successor (1685) of Charles II., sent out Sir Edmund Andros to govern "the Dominion of New England" (§ 64).

Andros, with his self-appointed council, was authorized: (1) to enact laws ("as near as conveniently may be to those of England"); (2) to organize courts of justice; (3) to levy taxes; (4) to call out the militia; (5) to grant liberty of conscience to all persons, and to encourage the Episcopal form of worship.[194]

He faithfully carried out his instructions. He opened the Old South Meeting-House in Boston on Sunday afternoons for the Church of England service. He imprisoned the Reverend John Wise of Ipswich, and five other leading citizens of that town, for refusing to pay a tax levied upon them without their consent.

By the fall of the charter every acre of land in Massachusetts was forfeited to the King. Andros gave the prominent real-estate owners of the colony their choice between paying an annual ground rent to his royal master, or surrendering their houses and fields. In Cambridge, Lynn, and other towns, he seized the commons, fenced them in, and leased them to private tenants.

In order to prevent the public discussion of political matters, he prohibited all town-meetings except one which might be held yearly to choose town-officers. He forbade any person's leaving New England without a pass. The press had always been under the supervision of a keeper appointed by the General Court. The Governor now appointed that keeper himself; nothing could be printed without a license.[195] Andros was naturally arbitrary, but there seems to be no evidence that he was either "cruel, rapacious, or dishonest."[196] It was simply inevitable that he should excite the hatred of those who were compelled to submit to him and to his royal master.

When the news of the landing of William, Prince of Orange, was received (1689) in Boston, Andros wrote: "There is a

general buzzing among the people, great with the expectation of [regaining] the old charter."[197] The "buzzing" had a sting in it. It ended in the rising of the citizens. They threw the obnoxious ruler into prison, and set up a temporary government of their own. Great was the joy of the colonists when William and Mary came to the throne in England. The new King was known to be in strong sympathy with the principles of the Puritan faith, and the citizens of Massachusetts believed that in him they would have a fast friend.

101. The new charter of Massachusetts (1691); Salem witchcraft; Judge Sewall. — King William (1691) granted a new charter to Massachusetts which annexed Plymouth and Maine to the colony. It provided: (1) that the Crown should appoint the Governor of the colony; (2) that the property-holders among the people should elect an Assembly; (3) that the Assembly should choose a council or upper house, subject to the approval of the Governor; (4) the two houses of the Legislature were to make all laws, subject to the approval of the Governor and of the King; (5) the Assembly was to levy all taxes; (6) the Legislature established the courts of justice, — and the Governor, with the consent of his council, appointed the judges; (7) freedom of worship was granted to all Christians except Catholics.[198] The colony remained under this charter until the War of Independence.

The King now appointed Sir William Phips, Governor. He reached Boston (1692) at a time when Salem and vicinity were in a fever of excitement about witchcraft.

Belief in the reality of witchcraft was then practically universal. In Great Britain alone thousands of poor old women were tortured, hanged, and burned for that crime. The most eminent men "thought that they had Scripture authority for that belief, and knew that they had law for it."[199]

Some children in Salem formed a sort of club for reading stories about witches. They next began to mimic the actions of bewitched persons. At length they worked themselves into

a state of nervous excitement bordering on insanity. In that condition they accused several women of having bewitched them. One of the accused was a poor Indian servant; she was flogged so cruelly that in her agony she confessed herself guilty. Then the whole community was seized with a frenzy of terror; before the fatal delusion ran its course nineteen persons were hanged for having sold themselves to Satan.

Then came the inevitable reaction. A day of fasting and prayer was held (1696) throughout Massachusetts to bewail the "mistakes" of the witchcraft trials. Judge Sewall rose in his place in the Old South Meeting-House and read a written confession of his errors for the part he had taken in them. He ended by humbly begging the congregation to pray "that God might not visit his sin upon him, his family," or "upon the land."[200] Later, one of the girls who had begun the terrible work signed a written statement, still on record, in which she acknowledged the deceit she had employed, and which had cost near a score of lives.[201] But though no more witchcraft cases came before the courts in Massachusetts, they continued to be prosecuted in the Old Country. The English statute punishing such offences with death was not repealed until forty years later (1736).

102. The power of the purse; disputes with the Governors; Episcopacy; the Forest Laws; the Navigation Laws revived. — The new charter (§ 101) gave the Assembly the exclusive control of the public purse. The representatives chosen by the different towns levied all taxes, and paid all salaries. This provision put "the effective whip of the money power" into the hands of the colonists, and made them almost independent of the Governor and the King.

One great object of the Governor was to secure a fixed permanent salary, so that the people could not put a bridle on his authority. The people, on the other hand, were fully resolved not to grant a fixed salary; and not to grant any for

more than a single year at a time. In this way they made the Governor realize that his pay depended on his behavior. This battle between the Executive and the people was constantly going on, not only in Massachusetts, but in every one of the royal colonies in America.[203]

Another lively source of irritation sprang from the fact that the Governor, as the King's representative, always attended the King's or Episcopal Chapel in Boston. This excited the distrust of many of the descendants of the original Puritans. They feared that the King intended to appoint a bishop for Massachusetts, and to secure to the Episcopal Church the controlling influence in religion. No bishop, however, was ever appointed by the Crown for any American colony.

The Forest Laws were another cause of irritation. The tall straight pines of New England were reserved for masts for the royal navy. The new charter forbade the colonists to cut them down. But as a fine tree would readily sell for £100, or even more, the King's surveyor found it difficult to save the pines. His attempts to do so sometimes led to pitched battles between his men and the colonists, in which the latter generally came off victors.

Later, the royal authorities made determined efforts to enforce the obnoxious Navigation Acts (§ 48), which had long been a dead letter in New England. This added fresh fuel to the smouldering embers of discontent. Samuel Adams and other patriots blew those embers until they suddenly burst out in the fierce flame of the Revolution.

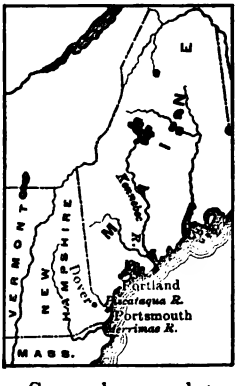
103. Summary. — Plymouth Colony (1620) and the colony of Massachusetts (1630) were established by men seeking liberty of worship for themselves; but for themselves only. The settlers of the first or "Old Colony" were Separatists; those of the second, Puritans. The Pilgrims organized government by town-meeting, where all met on terms of political equality. Later, they established the representative system (except for local affairs) and restricted the right to vote to

persons of orthodox faith. After an independent existence of seventy years Plymouth Colony was united with Massachusetts.

The Puritan settlers of Massachusetts practically set up an independent religious republic, from which they excluded all who did not accept their faith; on the other hand they were the first English colonists to establish a college for higher education, and a system of public schools which laid the foundation of free instruction in the United States. In 1684 the colony was made a royal province. Later (1691), a new charter was received which remained in force until the outbreak of the Revolution.

V. New Hampshire (1623).

104. Grant of territory; first settlements. — Two years after the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason of England obtained a grant (1622) of the country between the Merrimac and the Kennebec rivers.[203] Their territory extended "to the farthest head of the said rivers" and sixty miles inland. The new province was to receive the name of Maine. A few months later, David Thomson, a Scotchman, got possession of a small section of land on the Piscataqua, and established a fishing-station (1623) near the mouth of that river. He soon moved to the vicinity of Boston; but the settlement he had formed on the Piscataqua seems to have been maintained.[204]



Several years later (1627) Edward Hilton came over from England and set up a second fishing-station at what is now Dover. Not long afterward (1629) Gorges and Mason built a fort for carrying on the fur trade. The three founded Ports-

mouth on one of the noblest harbors of the New England coast. When (1638) the Reverend John Wheelwright was banished from Massachusetts for heresy (§ 92) he began the settlement of Exeter.

105. Gorges and Mason divide their territory into Maine and New Hampshire. — Gorges and Mason (1629–1634) divided their territory.[205] Gorges took the part east of the Piscataqua or Maine, while Mason took that between the Piscataqua and the Merrimac. This region he called New Hampshire, — from the county of Hampshire, England, where he had once held an important office.

An attempt had been made by Sir George Popham to establish a colony of that name at the mouth of the Kennebec in 1607; but it was unsuccessful. Maine was planted by small settlements, and hence presented only "scattered beginnings." The first permanent one was made (1625) on the rocky promontory of Pemaquid, east of Bath. It promised so well that it received the name of "the metropolis of New England."[206]

Sir Ferdinando Gorges was a staunch royalist and a zealous member of the Church of England. He fixed his capital (1640) under the shadow of Mount Agamenticus, at what is now York. Massachusetts, under a new interpretation of her charter, claimed part of Maine. By a later charter (1691) she got the whole of it, and held it under the name of the "District of Maine."[207] In 1820 this "District" became an independent State of that Union which the hardy and patriotic sons of Maine had done their full part to establish.

106. Religious opinions; land titles. — New Hampshire was greatly divided in religious opinions. A considerable part of the first settlers were "loyal to the Church of England and to the King."[208] But besides these there were Puritans and Hutchinsonians (§ 92) at Dover. Again, the Wheelwright party (§ 92), who settled Exeter, felt no very fervent love toward the old Bay Colony, which had driven them out to find homes in the northern wilderness.

Besides religious differences there were serious disputes about land-titles, and, between the two, New Hampshire found herself in a very unsettled condition. When Mason died (1635) his heirs insisted that the settlers on the grant were intruders who must either pay for their farms or leave them.

While this dispute was going on, Massachusetts (1630) laid claim to a large part of New Hampshire. Her ground was that the Company's charter gave them the right to all lands as far north as three miles above the source of the Merrimac River (§ 85), and thence easterly in a straight line to the Atlantic.[209]

After many years of litigation, the English courts finally (1680) decided against this claim; but the Mason heirs kept up the controversy for about half a century longer. The early settlers had a trying experience. When they were not fighting Indians in the forests, they were fighting in the courts against English claimants to their homes; of the two, they probably dreaded the claimants rather more than they did the savages.

107. "Combinations"; union with Massachusetts (1642–1675); New Hampshire becomes a royal province. — After Mason's death the citizens of Dover signed a compact by which they bound themselves to obey the laws of England, but maintained the right of the settlers to supplement those laws with regulations of their own. Similar "combinations" were formed (either earlier or later) by the people of Portsmouth and of Exeter.[210] In practice these agreements established independent systems of self-government.

But New Hampshire had too small a population to hold her own against the terrors of Indian attacks, of boundary disputes, and of private claimants to her lands. A commissioner sent from Massachusetts reported that the Piscataqua people were ripe for union with the Bay colony.[211] The union took place in 1641. The northern colony lost none of her rights or privileges by the annexation. The General Court of Massachusetts prudently ordered (1642) that the freemen of New

Hampshire should "have liberty . . . to manage all their town affairs," and that permission should be given to each town to "send a deputy to the General Court though [such deputies] be not at present church-members." [212]

This union lasted for more than thirty years (1642–1675), when the King ordered that New Hampshire should be restored to one of Mason's heirs. A few years later (1680) it became a royal province. Governor Cranfield's rapacity made the people desperate, and the farmers rose. Armed with clubs, and aided by their good wives armed with kettles of boiling water, they drove back the Governor's bands of tax-collectors and constables.

108. Settlement of Londonderry (1719); manufacture of linen; Stark; Webster; Dartmouth College. — Early in the eighteenth century (1719) a number of Scotch-Irish (§ 52) immigrants settled in New Hampshire. They founded a frontier town which they called Londonderry, in grateful remembrance of the famous Protestant city which had been their temporary home in Ireland.

These thrifty settlers soon began a most important industry, which they had learned in Ireland; this was the raising of flax and the manufacture of linen. In every log-cabin the music of the spinning-wheel was heard, and the cloth sent out from those humble homes in the wilderness became so famous all over New England that British makers counterfeited the Londonderry stamp.[213]

Another product of which the town had good reason to be proud was John Stark, who came to the front in the French and Indian wars and in the early battles of the Revolution.

About forty years after the settlement of Londonderry, a farmer of Scottish descent pushed far north into what was then the wildest part of New Hampshire. There he made himself a dwelling-place under the shadow of Mount Kearsarge. Speaking of that home in the woods, Daniel Webster said: "My father *lapped on* a little beyond any other comer;

and when he had built his log-cabin, and lighted his fire, his smoke ascended nearer to the North Star than that of any other of His Majesty's New England subjects; his nearest civilized neighbor on the north was at Montreal."[214]

Something like ten years after that cabin was erected a band of about thirty students, mostly Indians, made their way on foot through the woods from Connecticut to what is now Hanover. There they felled trees in the forest, and erected (1769) the first rude buildings of Dartmouth College.[215]

109. Dispute between New York and New Hampshire; the "beech seal"; Vermont; Paul Jones. — In 1763 a dispute arose between New Hampshire and New York in regard to the ownership of the territory lying between the latter colony and the Connecticut River.

Both claimed it under the royal grants.[216] The colony of Massachusetts had built Fort Dummer (1724) near what is now Brattleboro. This was the first settlement made in that region. Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire (from whom Bennington was named) had already laid out nearly a hundred and forty townships in this disputed territory. These townships — popularly called the "New Hampshire grants" — were a favorite field for speculators, and lawyers grew rich from land sales and the quarrels arising from them.

The King (1765) confirmed the claim of New York to the territory west of the Connecticut River. Thereupon the Governor of New York ordered the settlers on the "New Hampshire grants" — later named Vermont — to repurchase their lands.

Ethan Allen and Seth Baker, two "Green Mountain boys," headed a party determined to resist these demands. They armed themselves with tough "blue-beech" rods, such as were used for taming unruly oxen. When the sheriff's officers came from New York to eject the settlers, the "boys" gave them a very warm reception. This they styled applying the "beech seal." A long and bloody contest would probably have ensued,

had not the breaking out of the Revolution compelled the disputants to turn their energies to fighting a common enemy.

In the war for Independence the "Green Mountain boys," led by Allen, Warner and other patriots of that section, did the cause of American liberty memorable service. In 1777 the freemen of the "New Hampshire Grants" declared themselves an independent State, under the appropriate name of Vermont. Vermont (1791) headed the band of States which, outside of the original thirteen, first entered the American Union.

Early in the Revolution, citizens of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, built (1777) the famous privateer "Ranger," which sailed under the command of Paul Jones. The "Ranger" was the first vessel to hoist the "stars and stripes," and the first to force a British man-of-war to strike her colors to our national flag.[217]

110. Summary. — Early in the seventeenth century a few fishing and fur-trading settlements were planted on the New England coast north of the Merrimac. Soon afterward the proprietors of the territory divided it; the eastern part became Maine and the western, New Hampshire. Eventually, New Hampshire was annexed to Massachusetts, but it retained important features of its own more liberal form of government; late in the seventeenth century it became a royal province.

Scotch-Irish immigrants set up the manufacture of linen at Londonderry. Stark and Webster were the sons of New Hampshire pioneers. After a time the settlers in the western part of the colony declared themselves an independent State under the name of Vermont. Both New Hampshire and Vermont took active parts in the War of Independence.

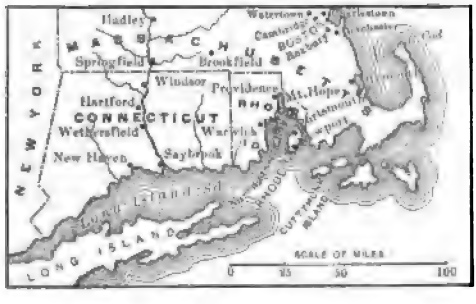
VI. Connecticut (1634).

111. Connecticut Valley; the Dutch emigration from Plymouth Colony and from Massachusetts. — Between Plymouth Colony on the east and New Netherland on the west lay the beautiful valley of the Connecticut. James I. had granted this

region to the Plymouth Council; but no proper surveys had been made, and "the King might as well have given a bear-skin while the bear himself was still at large in the forest." [218]

The Dutch claimed the country by virtue of exploration and settlement. They had sent vessels up the Connecticut (1633) and had built a fortified fur-trading house where the city of Hartford now stands. But the Puritan and Pilgrim colonists on the east refused to recognize the Dutch claim. They looked upon the coveted territory as a "No-Man's Land" or "Lord's Waste," which any Englishman had the right to seize. Acting in this spirit, Captain William Holmes of Plymouth sailed boldly up the Connecticut, pushed past the Dutch fort (1633), and set up a ready-made rival trading-house where Windsor now stands. The next year (1634) emigrants from Watertown, near Boston, built a few log huts at Wethersfield, — the oldest town in Connecticut. Soon afterward (1635) about half the inhabitants of Dorchester, Massachusetts, moved to the vicinity of Captain Holmes's trading-house. They, too, had a "hankering mind" after the rich river meadows of Windsor.

But the chief emigration took place the following year (1636), when the Reverend Thomas Hooker, "the Light of the Western Churches," led the greater part of his Cambridge congregation to the Connecticut. The colonists found their way through the primeval forests by the use of the compass. After two weeks' journeying they reached the Connecticut, crossed it on rafts, and began the settlement of Hartford.



The same autumn (1636) John Winthrop, junior, built a fort for Lords Say and Brooke at the mouth of the Connecticut —

hence the town of Saybrook. This fort shut out the Dutch from coming up the river. Eight years later (1644) the Connecticut colony (consisting of Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford) purchased Saybrook, and so got the control of the river from its mouth to the Massachusetts line on the north.

112. Opposition of Massachusetts; reasons for emigration. — Massachusetts strongly opposed this movement of her people into the valley of the Connecticut. She regarded it as a secession rather than an emigration. It was in fact the secession of the more democratic part of the Puritan population of Massachusetts. But the authorities had other reasons for opposing this movement: (1) they did not like to see their own slender numbers reduced; (2) they feared that England would hold them responsible for letting the people take possession of a region for which they had no patent; (3) they thought the movement would bring on a war with the Dutch and with the Indians.[219] In regard to trouble with the savages, the results showed that their judgment was correct.

The Cambridge emigrants gave as their reasons for going: first, that they needed more room for pasturing their cattle; secondly, that if they did not seize the Connecticut Valley there was great danger that the "Dutch, or other English" might. Finally, they declared that it was "the strong bent of their minds to remove thither."[220]

The phrase "strong bent" was doubtless a mild way of expressing the determination of the leaders of the movement to establish a new government, which should more fully represent their own ideas. Hooker was opposed to religious tests for suffrage. He advocated broader and more tolerant principles in both religion and politics than those held by the authorities in Massachusetts.[221]

After long debate a reluctant kind of half-assent was given to the emigration, but on the condition that Massachusetts should appoint commissioners to control the Connecticut set-

tlers. To this the emigrants agreed, but in less than a year they had become self-governing.

113. War with the Pequots; the destruction of the Pequot fort; results. — The settlers at Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford had hardly got their log-cabins completed when they were obliged to unite in a campaign (1637) against the savages. It was the first war with the Indians in New England. The ferocious Pequots — a tribe that could muster nearly a thousand warriors — were determined to drive the English from the rich valley of the Connecticut.

Captain John Mason of Windsor led (1637) his valiant little army of ninety men against the savages. Captain Underhill of Massachusetts joined him with a force of about twenty more. Several hundred friendly Narragansetts and Mohicans went with the expedition.

Mason and Underhill, with a total attacking force of less than four-score men, burst into the Pequot fort (on Pequot Hill, near what is now Mystic). They set the wigwams on fire, and in a few minutes the whole Indian village was a sheet of roaring flame. When the terrified savages rushed madly out of their blazing wigwams, Mason and Underhill "entertained them," as the latter says, "at the point of the sword." Out of six or seven hundred Pequots, only "about seven escaped."[222]

The remainder of the tribe, who were entrenched in a second fort a few miles distant, fled westward in despair. All summer they were hunted down like wild beasts. In the autumn (1637) the miserable remnant of this once powerful people surrendered. The colonists gave part of the prisoners to the Mohicans and Narragansetts; the rest they sold as slaves to the West India planters. The destruction of the Pequots secured forty years of peace to the New England settlers, and opened the way to the rapid settlement of Connecticut.

114. Mr. Hooker's sermon; the Connecticut Constitution; laws respecting suffrage. — In the spring following the victory over the Pequots, the Reverend Mr. Hooker preached a mem-

orable sermon (1638) before the General Court of Connecticut. He declared that the foundation of every just government must be laid "in the free consent of the people," who alone had the right not only to choose, but to limit the power of their rulers.[223]

The next January (1639) the Court framed a "Body of Fundamental Laws" based on the republican principles which Hooker had laid down. Such was the origin of the first written, and purely republican, constitution made by Americans for Americans (§§ 43, 80). It did not mention either King or Parliament, but derived its powers solely from the "free consent" of the governed.

This constitution required that the Governor of Connecticut should be "always a member of some approved congregation."[224] That meant that he must be orthodox in religion. But the Connecticut authorities, unlike those in Massachusetts, did not restrict the right to vote to church-members.

A number of years later an act was passed (1657) forbidding Quakers and other "loathsome heretics" from settling in the colony.[225] About the same time the right of suffrage was limited to persons who had once held office or who owned property to the value of £30.[226]

The laws were liberal for that day. Roger Williams was "a welcome guest at Hartford," and there "never existed a persecuting spirit in Connecticut."[227]

115. New Haven Colony (1638) a republic founded on the Bible; the Laws of Moses. — Meanwhile a new colony had been planted (1638) at New Haven. In many respects it differed widely from the Connecticut colony. Its founders were Theophilus Eaton, a London merchant, and the Reverend John Davenport, a Puritan minister of the "straitest sect."[228]

In 1639 the settlers held their first town-meeting. They voted: (1) "that the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men"; (2) "that church-members only shall be free burgesses."[229] These ordinances were declared to be unalterable.

The settlers then chose twelve men, who in turn chose, from among themselves, the "Seven Pillars." These seven, by mutual agreement, formed the first church of New Haven Colony, and also the first court of justice. They appointed the civil officers of the commonwealth and decided who might be permitted to vote.

A few years later (1644) the General Court ordered that "the judicial Laws of Moses," as laid down in the Old Testament, should be the rule for dealing with all offenders. These laws, which resembled those of Massachusetts, inflicted the penalty of death not only on the murderer, but on the presumptuous sabbath-breaker, the wilful blasphemer and the stubborn and rebellious son.[230] All trials were conducted before the seven judges; trial by jury was not allowed.[231] There is no evidence, however, that capital punishment was ever inflicted except for wilful murder, and for the commission of one or two revolting crimes.[232] In England at this date no less than thirty offences — of which sheep-stealing was one — were punished by the hangman's halter.

116. Establishment of a free school (1642) and of a college (1701); the regicides. — Meanwhile (1642) the colony of New Haven had ordered a free school to be "set up" (§ 93), and to be supported out of the public money of the town.[233]

Two generations later (1701; after New Haven and Connecticut had long been united) tradition tells us that ten ministers, zealous for the cause of sound knowledge and sound orthodoxy, met at Branford, near New Haven. Each brought a few books, saying, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." Such was the humble beginning of what is to-day "Yale University." It was the second in order of birth of the great New England institutions of learning.[234]

When Charles II. came to the throne, Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges who had signed Charles I.'s death warrant,

fled to Boston. Thence the "regicide judges" went to New Haven.[235]

The Puritan colonists of New England naturally sympathized with men who had given the death-blow to that royal tyranny which had driven them to seek homes in the New World. The Reverend John Davenport concealed the fugitives in his own house. In a sermon full of fervor he bade his congregation obey the Scripture command: "Hide the outcasts, betray not him that wandereth."[236] The emissaries of the Crown offered large rewards for the capture of the regicides, but no one, however poor, would give information respecting them. The King never succeeded in laying hand on these two men who had helped to send his father to the block.

117. The Connecticut Charter (1662); New Haven united with Connecticut; Andros and the charter. — In 1662 Charles II. granted a charter to the Connecticut colony, which incorporated (1665) the New Haven colony with the other settlement.[237] The Connecticut charter was a remarkable instrument. It made the people of that commonwealth "independent except in name." They could elect their own governor and legislature, enact their own laws (provided they should not be contrary to the laws of England), and administer justice without appeal to the English courts. The charter imposed no restrictions in matters of religion or worship.

It was as liberal in its gift of territory as in its political concessions. It secured to this virtual American republic a strip of land about seventy miles in width, extending from a point a little west of Narragansett Bay in one unbroken line across the continent to the Pacific. By these generous terms Connecticut embraced, like Virginia and Massachusetts, nearly one-eighth the circumference of the globe.

In 1687 Governor Andros, in pursuance of his instructions from James II. (§ 100), demanded the surrender of the Connecticut charter, and went with a military retinue to Hartford to obtain it. The authorities protested, but Andros was unyield-

ing. He had come for the charter, and he was determined not to go away without it. The discussion extended into the evening. Then, according to tradition, the much-coveted document was brought in and laid on the table. The Governor was about to take possession of it, when the candles were suddenly blown out; when they were relighted the charter had disappeared. One of the Assemblymen had seized the precious document under cover of the darkness, and rushing out had hidden it in the hollow trunk of the tree henceforth known and venerated as the "Charter Oak."[288]

Andros now took the management of Connecticut (§ 100) upon himself. But his triumph was brief. When (1689) he fell (§ 100) the colonists brought out the hidden charter and reëstablished their liberty. From that time the government remained substantially unchanged until the adoption of the State constitution in 1818.

The growth of Connecticut, like that of her noble elms, was silent and sure. As she chose her own rulers and made her own laws, she was exempt from those quarrels with royal Governors which kept most of the colonies in a constant turmoil. In the French wars Israel Putnam, one of Connecticut's adopted sons — "the man who dared to lead where any man dared to follow" — showed how her people were being trained for the coming struggle for independence. That struggle brought such patriots as Putnam, Roger Sherman, and Governor Jonathan Trumbull — the original "Brother Jonathan," the friend and adviser of Washington — directly to the front.[289]

118. **Summary.** — The Connecticut Valley was settled by emigrants from Massachusetts who desired to establish a colony on a broader basis of citizenship. Connecticut framed the first written and purely republican form of constitution made by Americans for Americans. Later, a colony of the strictest class of Puritans was established at New Haven. They limited the government to church-members. In 1662 Charles II. united the two colonies under a very liberal charter.

Henceforth Connecticut became an independent republic in everything but name. Israel Putnam led Connecticut men in the "French and Indian War"; and at the beginning of the Revolution, Putnam, Sherman, and Trumbull took a conspicuous part in behalf of independence.

VII. Maryland (1634).

119. George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore; the Maryland Charter; laws; religion. — In 1629 George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, visited Jamestown, Virginia, with the view of settling in that province. The authorities, knowing that he was a Catholic, demanded that he should take the Oath of Supremacy (§ 40), and thus compelled him to leave the colony.[240]

Two years later (1631) Charles I. granted Lord Baltimore a large tract of wild land in Virginia, north and east of the Potomac; but before the charter was signed Lord Baltimore died, and his son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, received the charter.[241] It created Calvert and his heirs "Proprietaries" or "true and absolute lords" of Maryland — a name given by the King in honor of his wife, Queen Mary, who held the same faith as the Calverts. By this act Charles I. granted "the most ample rights and privileges ever conferred by a sovereign of England." He gave Lord Baltimore power to set up "a government almost independent of the parent country."[242]

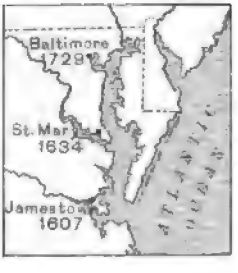
By the charter the "Proprietary" could erect manors, create a titled aristocracy, wage war, call out the entire fighting population to defend his province, establish courts of justice, impose custom duties, levy taxes, and, with the assent of the freemen, could enact all needful laws — provided, however, that they should agree "as far as conveniently might be" with the laws of England.

In pursuance of this plan, Lord Baltimore ordered (1636) that land-grants of a thousand acres and upwards should be

erected into manors. The lord of such an estate was empowered to hold civil and criminal courts. His tenants usually enjoyed a share in the management or government of the estate. One of the most famous of these manors, on which the ancient mansion, chapel, and outbuildings are still to be seen, was the beautiful domain of the Revolutionary patriot, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, which is still held by one of his descendants.

Nothing in the charter forbade the Proprietary from opening such places of worship as he saw fit.[243] Lord Baltimore's intention was to found an aristocratic province of wealthy landholders which should also be a place of refuge for English Catholics.[244] In doing this he had no intention of compelling all colonists to contribute toward the support of the Catholic Church, or of excluding any other class of Christians; in fact, under English law he could not have shut out Protestants had he been so disposed. But he was not so disposed; on the contrary, he invited them to take part in planting the first settlement in the American wilderness which was open to all believers in Christianity.[245]

120. Emigration to Maryland; St. Mary's (1634) first English Catholic Church; Puritans; toleration; Quakers. — Leonard Calvert, a brother of Lord Baltimore, sailed (1633) for Maryland with nearly two hundred colonists. About twenty of them were Catholic gentlemen who went out to take up lands; most of the remainder appear to have been Protestant laborers. A settlement was made at St. Mary's in 1634. Here an Indian wigwam was consecrated as a place of worship. It was the first English Catholic church opened in America. No other colony would have allowed it to stand even for a day. Under English law no colony could have rightfully permitted it to do so (§ 40). Nothing in Lord



Baltimore's charter granted him permission to open such a church; but it seems to have been implied or understood.

From the outset, Protestants and Catholics enjoyed equal and entire freedom. Puritans from New England were invited to settle in the new colony. Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts wrote (1643), that Lord Baltimore, "being himself a Papist," offered "land in Maryland to any of ours that would transport themselves thither, with free liberty of religion." [246]

When Governor Berkeley of Virginia drove out the Puritans from the "Old Dominion," a number fled to Maryland (1648–1649) and, like Roger Williams, founded a town which they named Providence — now Annapolis. In 1649 the Maryland Assembly, a majority of whom were Catholics, enacted a statute which confirmed and fully established Lord Baltimore's policy of religious toleration. That act provided that "no person . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall from henceforth be any ways troubled . . . in respect of his or her religion . . . so as they be not unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary." [247]

Certain Quakers were banished for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Lord Baltimore; but even they were not very rigidly excluded, for George Fox later (1672) declared that he held "a large and heavenly meeting" in Maryland.[248]

121. The Virginians; Clayborne; Captain Ingle; the Puritan commissioners; Cromwell; William and Mary. — Meanwhile the Virginia colonists, angry at the dismemberment of their territory, showed decided hostility to their new neighbors. William Clayborne, a Virginian, held a trading station on Kent Island, under a royal license, granted before Lord Baltimore received his charter. He refused to vacate; fighting ensued. Finally the case was brought before the English courts and was decided in Lord Baltimore's favor. When the Civil War broke out in England between the Puritans and the Royalists, Clayborne made an attempt to repossess himself of Kent Island.

At the same time Captain Richard Ingle, an English piratical adventurer, who professed to be a staunch Puritan, seized St. Mary's, and compelled Governor Calvert to fly to Virginia. Under the plea that he had come to help "the distressed Protestants" of the colony, Clayborne plundered the Catholics and the Royalists, broke up the Catholic missions, and arresting Father White and the other priests, sent them to England in irons to answer to a false charge of treason.

After a time Governor Calvert returned to Maryland, but there was a great outcry in England against what was called the "Papist province." To take away all cause for this clamor, Lord Baltimore removed the Catholic Governor, put a Protestant in his place, and gave the control to that party.[249]

After Charles I. was beheaded, Parliament appointed three commissioners, one of whom was Clayborne, to reorganize the government of Maryland. Three-fourths of the colonists were Puritans. They supported Clayborne in his avowed determination to "root out the Papists." An Assembly was summoned from which all Catholics were expressly excluded. That body enacted a law (1654) declaring: "that none who profess and exercise the Popish religion . . . can be protected in this province by the laws of England."[250] The extreme Puritans in England said that at last "Babylon in Maryland" had fallen.[251] The same law that refused liberty of worship to Catholics, denied it to Episcopalians, Quakers, and Baptists.[252]

Cromwell, Puritan though he was, sternly rebuked this action. He declared that "Liberty of conscience is a natural right." He gave orders that Lord Baltimore's authority should be respected, and that freedom of worship should be restored to all Christians.[253]

When William and Mary came to the throne (1689), they were not at once proclaimed sovereigns in Maryland. John Coode spread the report that the delay was the result of a plot on the part of the Catholics and the Indians to "cut off the Protestants" of the colony. The story was absurd on its face,

for the Protestants greatly outnumbered the Catholics, and could easily have crushed any attack. But the report led to an insurrection, and Maryland was split into two hostile parties, one crying out against the "villainous practices" of "the late Popish governors"; the other denouncing "the wicked instigation of John Coode."[254]

122. **Maryland becomes a royal province; the Church of England; the Catholics; Lord Baltimore; the Revolution; Articles of Confederation.** — In consequence of this turmoil the King decided (1692) to take the government of Maryland into his own hands, and the Assembly established the Church of England in the colony. Puritans and Catholics were now alike forced to contribute money for its support, and Catholics were forbidden to hold public worship.[255] Later (1716), the introduction of the "test oath" (§ 174) had the effect of prohibiting Catholics from holding any office under the Government. Henceforth until the Revolution, despite the sturdy protest of such patriots as Charles Carroll, citizens of that faith "were taxed to sustain a religion which they believed heretical, and a Government in which they had no share."[256]

Meanwhile the Baltimores had become Protestants, and Maryland was restored (1715) to Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore. He was a member of the Church of England, and he and his descendants held the province until the War of Independence. In 1729 the great tobacco planters on the Patapsco founded the city of Baltimore, as a port from which to ship that staple. In the outset of the Revolution the Maryland colonists burned the taxed tea that was shipped to Annapolis, and sent sharp-shooters to aid the Continental army in besieging the British force shut up in Boston.

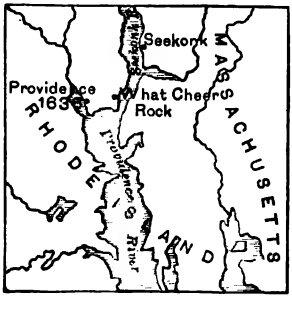
123. **Summary.** — The colony of Maryland was established by Lord Baltimore (1634) mainly as a refuge for English Catholics. Liberty of worship was guaranteed to all Christians. Maryland became involved in a dispute with Virginia

in regard to the possession of Kent Island. The republican party in England appointed Clayborne with other commissioners to reorganize the government of Maryland. The commissioners summoned an Assembly made up of Puritan settlers, who refused to protect Catholics, and prohibited freedom of worship to any but those of their own faith. In 1692 Maryland became a royal province, and the Church of England was made the established form of worship.

Later, when the Baltimores had become Protestants, the government was restored to them, and remained in their hands until the outbreak of the Revolution.

VIII. Rhode Island (1636).

124. Roger Williams founds Providence; the "lively experiment." — In the spring of 1636 Roger Williams (§ 91), with a few friends, formed a settlement at the head of Narragansett Bay. In commemoration of the many mercies he had received from the Most High, he called the place "Providence." "I desired," he says, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." [257]



In the colony of Providence absolute religious liberty was guaranteed to all. It was, as Roger Williams said, "a lively experiment" — one that had never been made before. More than a century earlier (1515) Sir Thomas More in his romance of Utopia had dared to hint at such toleration in England. The idea was regarded as an excellent jest. Well-nigh half a century later (1561) L'Hôpital, Chancellor of France, likewise pleaded, but without success, for freedom of worship.[258] Lord Baltimore (1634) granted it in Maryland, but confined it to

trinitarian Christians (§ 120). In Rhode Island (1636) Roger Williams, casting all limitations aside, welcomed men not only of every faith, — Jew, Christian, or Pagan, — but men of no faith, to the enjoyment of what he called "soul liberty."[259] Complete religious toleration had its origin in America. Later, Williams (1654) explained how this "soul liberty" was to be made consistent with the maintenance of order. He compared the colony to the passengers in a ship. No one, said he, must "be forced to come to the ship's prayers"; but on the other hand no mutiny can be permitted, and no man's religious belief can be allowed to "disturb the civil peace."[260]

A striking illustration of the practical working of such broad toleration occurred a few years later. The commissioners of the New England Confederacy (1657) requested Governor Arnold of Rhode Island to exclude Quakers as a "common pest." The Governor replied that they had no law to punish them. He added ironically that the Rhode Island colonists had found by experience that where Quakers were "suffered to declare themselves freely . . . [there] they least of all desire to come."[261]

Meanwhile several Baptists had emigrated from Massachusetts to Providence. Williams gave them a hearty welcome, and united with them in forming (1639) the first Baptist Church in America. He soon after withdrew from it, and became what was then called a "Seeker," or independent inquirer.

125. Government of the colony; charter of the colony. — The government of the colony was a democracy limited to the heads of families. Unmarried men could not vote, but must bind themselves to obey the laws. Later (1640), five men called "Disposers" were chosen to manage affairs, but their action might be modified or set aside in town-meeting.[262]

Subsequently, suffrage was restricted to owners of real estate, and no one could become a citizen until he had resided in the colony for some time.[263]

Meanwhile, Williams had gone to England to secure a charter for Rhode Island. He received one, granted by Parliament (1643), which gave the colonists full power to govern themselves provided they enacted no laws contrary to those of England.[264]

Twenty years later (1663) a royal charter was obtained which confirmed all the privileges granted by the first instrument, and which expressly provided that no one should be "in any wise molested . . . for any difference in opinion in matters of religion."[265] This charter was so broad and liberal that it virtually made Rhode Island a "little republic." When the colony threw off the power of the Crown in 1776, the clause in the charter requiring allegiance to the King was struck out, and one was substituted requiring allegiance to the Colony; with this single change it then stood until 1842.[266]

126. Limitation of suffrage versus religious toleration; Brown University. — Meanwhile, on paper at least, a very decided limitation of suffrage had taken place. In the statutes of Rhode Island of 1719 a law which claims to have dated from 1664 provided that "all men professing Christianity," Roman Catholics excepted, should be admitted to vote. There appears to be no evidence that this law was ever enforced;[267] but it was five times formally reënacted, and it remained on the statute-book until the close of the Revolution (1783).[268]

Unquestionably this act was a departure from the privileges guaranteed by Roger Williams. It restricted political liberty for a religious reason. It imposed a serious political disability on both Catholics and Jews, nevertheless it did not directly assail the great principle of freedom of worship.

Under this law any one might settle in the colony, but not every one could legally obtain the full rights of citizenship. Rhode Island still continued to be a refuge for men of all creeds and of no creed; and it was humorously said that if any man had lost his religion he would be sure to find it somewhere in the "Providence Plantations." Perhaps after all it was a good thing that there was one place in America where a

man could find the religion he sought, and having found it could practice it in his own way without molestation.

This principle found expression in the establishment by the Baptists (1764) of Rhode Island College, now Brown University. The charter of that noble institution of learning expressly forbids the use of religious tests, and requires that not only Baptists, but Quakers, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists shall be included in the board of trustees.[269]

Eventually this broad principle of toleration obtained national expression in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Whether the "soul liberty" enjoyed in Rhode Island suggested that amendment or not, it at least established a precedent for it.

127. Independent spirit of Rhode Island; resistance to Great Britain. — It was inevitable that a colony which excluded no one should be at times tumultuous in its exercise of individual liberty. It was natural too that Massachusetts should be strongly prejudiced against a commonwealth established on principles of religious toleration by a man she had driven out.

This feeling of personal independence, though at times pushed to extremes, did good service in the end. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts (1754) denounced it as the "spirit of mobbism." But later that spirit struck the keynote of the highest patriotism in its resistance to arbitrary rule.

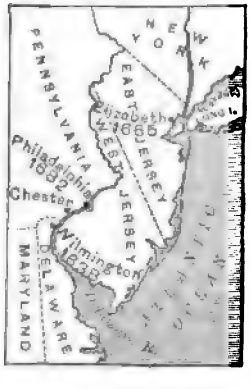
When (1764) England by her revival of restrictions on trade with the West Indies threatened the commercial ruin of both Rhode Island and Massachusetts, Stephen Hopkins, the Quaker Governor of Rhode Island, came out in vigorous defence of the American colonies. With unmistakable emphasis he declared that "the Parliament of Great Britain had no more right to make laws for the Rhode Islanders than they had to make them for the Mohawks."[270] In that spirit the sons of Rhode Island, led by General Greene, fought in the Revolution which established our national independence.

128. Summary. — Roger Williams planted the colony of Rhode Island on the basis of absolute religious freedom for all men. He obtained a royal charter which virtually gave the colony the power of self-government. After a time the right of suffrage was legally restricted to Protestants, but there was no interference with liberty of worship. From the outset the spirit of the colonists was vigorously independent, and manifested itself most effectively in the War of the Revolution.

IX. New Sweden or Delaware (1638).

129. First settlement on the Delaware; Christina. — The Dutch made a settlement on the Delaware (1631), but it was soon destroyed by the Indians. A number of years later Sweden resolved to get a share of the American continent, and to build up a "New Sweden," which should rival Holland's "New Netherland" and Britain's "New England."

The Swedish Government engaged Ex-Governor Peter Minuit (§ 56) to take over a party of emigrants. They made a settlement (1638) on the western bank of the Delaware within what are now the city limits of Wilmington. The emigrants named this settlement Christina, in honor of the young Queen of Sweden. It was the first permanent colony established in the Delaware Valley. The Dutch, however, had no idea of permitting the Swedes to get a foothold on territory which they claimed as their own. Governor Stuyvesant sailed with an expedition from New Amsterdam and compelled (1655) the fort at Christina to surrender. The Dutch gave the Swedish colonists permission to remain in the country, and pledged themselves not to interfere with their freedom of worship.[271] When the English captured



(§ 62) New Netherland (1664) this southern territory on the Delaware became part of the possessions of James, Duke of York.

130. **William Penn purchases Delaware; its government; Delaware becomes independent; enters the Union.** — After William Penn obtained (1680) his grant of Pennsylvania he was anxious to secure a frontage on the Atlantic. In order to accomplish this he purchased (1682) the region then called the "Three Counties upon the Delaware" from the Duke of York.

Penn annexed these three counties to his province and named them the "Territories of Pennsylvania"; they were governed as part of that province until 1701. The people of the "Territories" then succeeded in getting a charter from Penn under which they established a Legislature of their own.[272]

That charter followed the "Frame of Government" of Pennsylvania and was equally liberal in its terms. It granted: (1) Freedom of worship to all who believed in "One Almighty God"; (2) No one could be required to contribute toward the support of any form of religion to which he conscientiously objected; (3) All persons who professed belief in Jesus Christ, and who solemnly promised allegiance to the King, and fidelity to the Proprietor and to the Governor of Pennsylvania were eligible to office.

In 1776 the inhabitants of the "Territories of Pennsylvania" declared themselves an independent State. They took the name of Delaware from that of the river forming their northeast boundary. In the battles of the Revolution no regiment fought more bravely than that popularly known as the "Blue Hen's Chickens," or the "Gamecocks of Delaware." The State, by a prompt, unanimous, and enthusiastic vote was the first in order of time to accept the Constitution, and to enter the new American Union so established.[273]

131. **Summary.** — Delaware was originally settled (1638) by the Swedes at Christina (now Wilmington), but the Dutch

from New Netherland soon got possession of the province. After the conquest of New Netherland by the English, Delaware was purchased from the Duke of York by William Penn, who annexed it to his province of Pennsylvania. Eventually, the people of Delaware obtained a charter from Penn, and established a Legislature of their own. In 1776 they declared themselves independent of Great Britain, and took an active part in the Revolution. Delaware was the first State to accept the Constitution and to enter the American Union.

X.–XI. North and South Carolina (1663).

132. Charles II. grants "Carolina"; settlements in that region. — Charles I. by his grant of Maryland (1632) had greatly reduced the area of Virginia on the north; his son Charles II. cut off a still larger slice from the original territory of the "Old Dominion." In 1663 that lavish monarch issued a charter to Lord Clarendon and seven other court favorites, giving them all the region along the coast between Albemarle Sound and the St. John's river of Florida.[274] Westward the tract extended to the Pacific. The King named the province Carolina, in honor of himself. Two years later (1665) Charles extended this grant half a degree further north, and, in open defiance of the claims of Spain, pushed the boundary on the south until it not only included the ancient Spanish city of St. Augustine (§ 23) but overlapped it by nearly seventy miles.[275]

The Proprietors of this vast province might make all needful laws, provided they received "the approbation" of a majority of the freemen of the colony.[276] They might also grant such religious liberty as they thought "fit and reasonable."[277]

Emigrants from Virginia had already moved into this country and settled (1653) on the Chowan River, or Albemarle district. Later (1665), Englishmen coming from the Barbadoes formed a settlement at Cape Fear, or the Clarendon district. When George Fox (§ 95) pushed his way south across the Great Dismal Swamp (1672) and entered Carolina he received a warm welcome from certain Quakers who had fled there, and had built colonies on the Chowan River.[278]

133. "The Grand Model"; provisions respecting society, laws, religion. — The proprietors of Carolina adopted (1669) a cumbrous and complex constitution, popularly known as the "Grand Model."[279] It was to stand forever, and could not be amended or altered. The "Grand Model" was mainly the work of the eminent English philosopher, John Locke. Feudalism had died a natural death in England, but Locke proposed to resurrect it, and transplant it in a modified form to the pine forests of the New World.

The avowed object of the "Grand Model" was to "avoid erecting a numerous democracy,"— or to grant as little power to the people as possible. It aimed to build up a political and social pyramid. The base was formed of negro slaves, subject in all respects to the "absolute power" of their master.[280] Next above the negroes came the white agricultural laborers. They were serfs of the soil; they had no right to vote, or even to leave the estate on which they worked, without permission of the owners. In that condition they and their children were to remain "to all generations."[281] Above these serfs came a class of well-to-do but untitled landholders who had the right to vote, and a voice in legislation.[282]

Above this class was the nobility, holding vast estates, descending from father to son forever.[283] Finally a corpora-

tion of eight wealthy and titled Proprietors crowned all. The eldest Proprietor represented the King; the whole proprietary body was "self-renewing and immortal."[284]

134. Mode of legislation; religious toleration; the colony becomes a royal province. — All laws were to be made by a Parliament, consisting of the "Proprietors (or their deputies), together with the nobility and a small proportion of the untitled landholders."[285] The Proprietors could veto the laws enacted by this Parliament, and so control the government.

With respect to religion the "Grand Model" provided that all persons who acknowledged "that there is a God," and admitted the rightfulness of taking oaths, should have freedom of worship.[286] Those who denied the existence of God could neither vote nor hold real estate.[287] Persons above the age of seventeen, not members of some religious society, could not claim the protection of the laws.[288] Finally, the Church of England and "it alone" was to be maintained in Carolina by public taxation — other churches must support themselves.[289] The above provisions excluded Quakers, since they refused to take an oath, but did not shut out Jews or Catholics.

The Proprietors, after more than twenty years of vain struggle, gave up the attempt (1698) to enforce this peculiar constitution. In 1720 the colony became a royal province, and the Crown divided it (1729) into North and South Carolina.[290] Under the royal government religious liberty was granted to all Christians except Catholics.[291]

135. Settlement of Charleston; Huguenot emigrants; cultivation of rice and indigo. — In 1670 British emigrants settled on the west bank of the Ashley River. Two years later (1672) they founded the city of Charleston. The same year slaves were brought into the colony from the Barbadoes.[292] They increased until they outnumbered the white population.

In order to escape the merciless persecution of Louis XIV. numbers of Huguenots (§ 22) fled to America, and many came to Charleston. These religious refugees represented in

large degree not only the bone and sinew, but the brain and conscience of France. From them sprang such patriots as Henry Laurens and Francis Marion, while from Huguenot settlers in other colonies came John Sevier, Peter Faneuil, John Bayard, James Bowdoin, Paul Revere, Elias Boudinot, and John Jay.[293]

For many years the chief exports from the Carolinas were derived mainly from the pine forests or from traffic with the Indians. These exports consisted largely of turpentine, tar, pitch, and rosin, or of furs and deer-skins. A bag of seed-rice, obtained (1694) by chance from the captain of a vessel who put in at Charleston, led to the cultivation of that valuable grain. In time it became the principal article of export from South Carolina. Its production created a great demand for negroes, and planters reaped rich harvests from the swamp-lands along the coast.[294] Had the white settlers attempted the cultivation of those lands under the fierce rays of a southern sun, they would have simply "dug their own graves."[295]

Nearly half a century after the introduction of rice culture, the daughter of a planter near Charleston obtained (1742) some indigo-seed from the West Indies, and succeeded in making it grow. Indigo-raising rapidly extended. Before the outbreak of the War of Independence the yearly export of this product exceeded a million of pounds,[296] and it often proved immensely profitable.

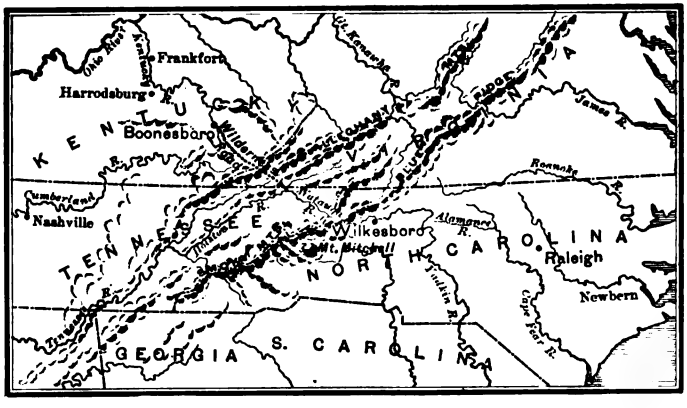
136. Indian wars; Governor Tryon. — The progress of North Carolina was greatly retarded by wars (1711–13) with the formidable Tuscarora Indians, who, according to tradition, were an offshoot of the ferocious Iroquois of New York. By the help of South Carolina and Virginia the power of the Tuscaroras was (1713) completely broken. The greater part of the tribe emigrated north, and joined the Iroquois confederacy — hereafter known as the "Six Nations."[297]

But, though small in numbers, the North Carolinians were made of resolute stuff; as they fought the savages, so in a

different way they fought against the exactions of the royal Governors. When they demanded taxes, the people replied by demanding better government. The watchword of these sturdy backwoodsmen was, "No reforms, no money."

Finally, the extortions of Governor Tryon — nicknamed the "Great Wolf of North Carolina" — drove the back-country colonists into open revolt. They organized bands of "Regulators," who not only refused to pay oppressive fees and taxes, but flogged the lawyers and shut up the courts.

137. Battle of Alamance; Robertson and Sevier; the Stamp-Act Congress. — Tryon attacked a body of the patriots who had gathered near the Alamance River (1771). The Governor had a much superior force, and so gained the day.



Settlement of Tennessee and Kentucky.

He hanged seven prisoners as "rebels" and "traitors." They died as bravely as they had fought. The battle of Alamance struck a blow at unjust taxation, and spilt blood that prophesied the Revolution.

More than half a century before (1716), Governor Spotswood of Virginia had climbed the Blue Ridge, and, looking down into the great valley of the West, had drunk the health of

George I. in brimming tumblers of punch. The Virginia Governor, however, did not venture beyond the Shenandoah Valley (§ 52); but after the battle of Alamance, James Robertson of North Carolina led (1771) a band of emigrants into that western country. They resolved to move into the remote wilderness out of Tryon's reach. After a long and difficult journey over the mountains they settled on the Wautauga River. There John Sevier of Virginia joined Robertson (1772); these two pioneers, one of Scotch, the other of Huguenot descent (§ 134), laid the foundation of the State of Tennessee.[298]

James Harrod (1774) led a band of pioneers into the valley of the Kentucky. Soon afterward, Daniel Boone, the famous hunter, who had long been exploring "the land of promise" west of the mountains, settled Boonesboro' (1775) in the same valley. Such was the beginning of the State of Kentucky.[299]

Meanwhile the citizens of Charleston (1765) had publicly burned the obnoxious Stamp Act. A little later Christopher Gadsden, a "born republican," with his brother-patriot John Rutledge, met the delegates from the united colonies in New York at that memorable Stamp-Act Congress (1765), which has been called the "Day Star of American liberty."[300]

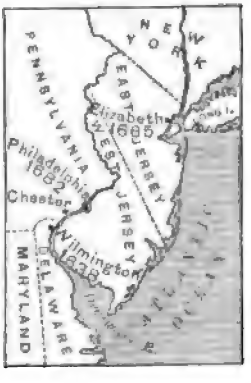
138. Summary. — By a sea-to-sea charter Charles II. granted Carolina (1663) to Lord Clarendon and a number of associates. An attempt was made to govern the colony under a constitution called the "Grand Model," but the people demanded a voice in the government; the constitution was cast aside, and the colony became a royal province, which was soon afterward divided into North and South Carolina. Meanwhile a settlement had been made at Charleston which attracted many Huguenot emigrants. The introduction of slavery made the cultivation of rice and indigo very profitable in South Carolina, while the northern province engaged largely in the export of the productions of the pine forests and of furs.

The resistance of the settlers of North Carolina to the oppressive measures of Governor Tryon led to the battle of Alamance, — a forerunner of the Revolution. Shortly afterward emigrants from the Carolinas settled the Kentucky and the Tennessee country.

Gadsden and Rutledge of South Carolina took a prominent part in the Stamp-Act Congress, which asserted the principles of American liberty.

XII. Pennsylvania (1681).

139. Grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn; Penn's object; provisions of the charter. — William Penn, one of the most influential of the English Quakers, inherited from his father, Admiral Penn, a claim against the Crown for £16,000. Charles II. discharged the debt by issuing (1681) a charter granting his creditor an immense tract of land bordering on the western bank of the Delaware, and extending five degrees into the interior.[301] Out of respect to the memory of Penn's father, the King named the new province Pennsylvania.[302]



Penn's object was to make what he called a "Holy Experiment"; in other words, to found a commonwealth in America where all Christians might dwell together on the broad basis of the Golden Rule.[303] Such toleration did not exist in the old country. Those who did not uphold the established form of worship were regarded as virtually disloyal. Penn declared that according to the current of thought then prevailing in Great Britain, "No Churchman meant no Englishman, and no conformist meant no subject."[304] In despair

of obtaining religious liberty at home, he now turned to the New World.

The charter made him (1) the "true and absolute Proprietary of the country"; (2) acting with the freemen of the colony he had power to make all needful laws, provided they were not repugnant to the laws of England; all legislation was subject to the King's veto; (3) the Church of England might be established in the colony, but no restrictions were to be imposed on other forms of Christian worship; (4) the Proprietary had the sole power to erect courts and appoint judges for the colony; (5) it was expressly provided that the English Parliament should have the right to levy not only custom duties, but taxes on the people of Pennsylvania. This last provision had never before been inserted in any colonial charter.[305] For nearly a hundred years it remained as harmless as a sheathed sword, then out of it suddenly sprang the War of Independence.

140. Emigration to Pennsylvania (1681); Penn's "Frame of Government." — Penn at once (1681) sent over several hundred emigrants to Pennsylvania. They formed, he declared, "the seed of a nation." He said to them, "You shall be governed by laws of your own making."[306] All settlers could buy land at the rate of forty shillings a hundred acres, but on each lot they were required to pay to the Proprietary of Pennsylvania a perpetual annual rent of one shilling. This trifling rent became the cause of most vexatious disputes.

Penn drew up a "Frame of Government" in which he carefully limited his own power and that of the Proprietaries who should succeed him.[307] He imposed these checks in order "that the will of one man" might "not hinder the good of a whole country."[308] "Liberty without obedience," said he, "is confusion," but "obedience without liberty is slavery."[309]

One of the most important provisions of Penn's constitution was that no child should be brought up in idleness, but that all should learn some useful trade.

In 1682 Penn himself sailed for Pennsylvania, taking with him about a hundred emigrants, "mostly English Quakers."[310] He landed at Chester, on the Delaware, and there took formal possession of his province.[311]

141. The "Great Law"; Philadelphia founded (1682); treaty with the Indians. — At Chester, Penn summoned an Assembly of the people. Together the Proprietary and the Assembly enacted (1682) the "Great Law," which provided that "God" might "have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due."[312]

The most important points in this code were: 1. The right to vote for members of the Assembly was restricted to men of good character who held the Christian faith and were taxpayers.[313] 2. Only those who professed Christianity could hold office or sit in the Legislature.[314] 3. Every colonist might demand trial by jury; murder, but murder only, was punishable by death; the prisons were not to be places of punishment only, but schools of industry and of reformation. The laws of the colony were to be printed and taught to all children. 4. "No person" who should confess "Almighty God to be the creator and ruler of the world" should in any way be molested or "compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship."[315]

Later in that year (1682) Philadelphia was founded. Its scriptural name gave fit expression to Penn's spirit of brotherly love. Shortly afterward he met the Indians in solemn council, under the spreading branches of a huge elm. The ferocious Iroquois despised the less warlike Delawares whom they had conquered. With these Delawares the Proprietors of Pennsylvania concluded that famous treaty which secured the unbroken friendship of the peaceable tribe of Red Men for more than sixty years, or as long as the Quakers held control of the province.[316] So completely did the founder of the colony gain the confidence of the natives by his fair dealing, that the highest praise a Delaware Indian could give a white man was to say: "He is like William Penn."[317]

142. Disputes in the colony; growth of Philadelphia; first printing-press. — Penn had no sooner returned to England (1684) than quarrels broke out between the settlers and the Deputy-Governor. From that time forward there was little peace in the colony. One chief ground of dispute was the claim of the Assembly to limit the Governor's expenditure of money to certain objects.[318]

But notwithstanding these stormy political discussions, the new colony prospered in a very remarkable degree. In the short space of fourteen years from its foundation, Philadelphia was described as a "noble and beautiful city" of "above two thousand houses," and the capital of a province having more than twenty thousand inhabitants.[319]

It could also boast of the first permanent printing-press set up south of New England (1686).[320] On that press, which Benjamin Franklin may have worked later, William Bradford printed the attacks of the political disputants of his day. It was a war of pamphlets, making up in vehemence what they lacked in size.

143. Quaker remonstrance against slavery (1688); iron and coal mines opened. — Nothing, however, issued from Bradford's press had such deep meaning as a paper drawn up (1688) by the Quakers of Germantown. That paper, which seems never to have been printed, voiced the first organized movement in the colonies against slavery, for negro bondage had already been introduced into Pennsylvania.[321] This anti-slavery protest was the forerunner of a movement which, three generations later (1776), had a practical issue. On the eve of the Declaration of Independence the Quakers of Pennsylvania commanded all members of the Society of Friends in that State to free their slaves. A few years later (1780) the State passed an act — the first on record — which provided for the gradual emancipation of that species of human property which Penn himself had once seen no harm in holding.[322]

Meanwhile the people of Pennsylvania had discovered one of the greatest sources of their future wealth. They had

opened iron mines (1720), had set up an iron furnace, and later (1755) had exported a considerable quantity of that metal to England.[323] Toward the close of the eighteenth century (1791) anthracite coal was accidentally discovered at Mauch Chunk mountain. The use of this coal for fuel and for iron manufacturing led to the development of the two leading industries of the State.[324]

144. The Quakers and the French and Indian wars; a struggle for life; dispute with the English Proprietaries of the colony. — Until the outbreak of the French and Indian wars (1750) the history of Pennsylvania was comparatively uneventful. The Quakers were non-resistants, and though a part of them justified purely defensive war, others felt that they could not conscientiously aid in equipping troops to fight the invaders.[325] This reluctance led a few years later (1756) to their ceasing to exercise political power in the colony.[326]

After Braddock's defeat (1755) (§ 170) the Pennsylvanians found themselves engaged in a fierce struggle for life. The knife of the savage was at their throats, and the settlers on the western frontier were flying in despair. Then the people girded themselves for battle, and volunteers rushed forward. The war spirit was stimulated to the highest degree by the offer of a bounty of $130 for every Indian scalp brought in.[327]

But the English Proprietors of Pennsylvania who had succeeded Penn showed little interest in the welfare or safety of the colony. Their object was to get all the revenue they could out of it, and to spend nothing for it. They owned tracts of land in the province valued at £10,000,000, but they refused to pay a single penny in taxes on this vast property. On the other hand, they insisted that the colonists should raise troops at their own expense to defend the interests of the province, and at the same time to protect the untaxed real estate of the Proprietors residing three thousand miles away.[328]

The Assembly indignantly refused to shed the blood of the people of Pennsylvania for the sake of the English owners.

They sent Benjamin Franklin (1757) to London to protest against the selfish greed of the Proprietors, and to demand that they should bear their share of the burdens of the colonial government. Franklin succeeded, after a long and vexatious contest, in getting an order from the authorities in England, commanding that the surveyed lands belonging to the Proprietors should be taxed in future.[329] Henceforth the successors of the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania could no longer boast that their possessions in America were exempt from public charges, yet were protected at public cost.

145. Settlement of the boundary question; Mason and Dixon's line; services of Dickinson, Franklin, and Morris. — Later, another serious controversy was satisfactorily concluded. Ever since the settlement of Philadelphia, the question of the southern boundary line of the colony had been a matter of dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore, or their successors. Penn's charter fixed that boundary at the fortieth degree of north latitude, but it was found that this parallel not only ran north of Philadelphia, but that it wholly shut out Pennsylvania and Delaware from any part of Delaware Bay. The intent of the charter was clearly to secure to Penn a certain amount of sea-coast, hence a new survey was demanded. This was finally made (1763–1767) by Mason and Dixon, two skilled English surveyors. They fixed the southern boundary at 39° 43′. Stones were set up along this parallel at intervals of a mile for the whole distance of 280 miles.[330] On every fifth stone the arms of the Penn family were carved on the northern side, and those of the Baltimores on the southern side. "Mason and Dixon's line" remained, until the admission of Missouri in 1820, the so-called line of division, East of the Alleghanies, between the free and the slave States.[331]

But a far greater struggle was now at hand. George III. asserted the right of the Crown to tax the colonists without asking their consent. John Dickinson protested in his "Farmer's Letters."[332] The progress of the Revolution soon kindled

the whole thirteen colonies into a blaze. The three most eminent citizens of Pennsylvania — Franklin, Dickinson, and Robert Morris — met on the floor of the first Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia (1776). Franklin served on the committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence. At the same time Dickinson drew up the Articles of Confederation, — the first Constitution of the United States. Morris later devised methods for finding means to carry on the war. Thus, in a high political and financial, as well as in a purely geographical sense, Pennsylvania proved herself the "Key-stone State" of the Union.

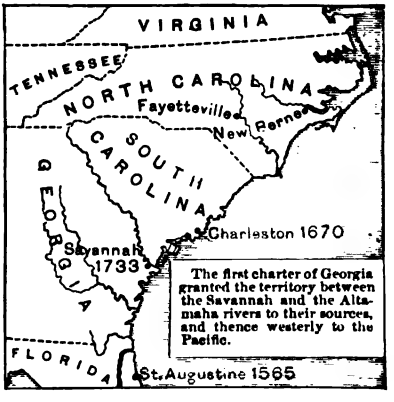
146. Summary. — The colony of Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn as a refuge for the persecuted brethren of his faith. The corner-stone of his new American commonwealth was the "Golden Rule." Religious toleration was granted to all who believed in God as the creator and ruler of the world. The right to vote and to hold office was granted to those who professed the Christian faith. The Pennsylvanians, notwithstanding their disputes with the Governors of the colony, prospered in a remarkable degree. The Quakers organized the first general movement against slavery, and the "Key-Stone State" was the first to pass an act of emancipation. Three of its leading citizens, Franklin, Morris, and Dickinson, took a very prominent part in the movement which secured our national independence.

XIII. Georgia (1733).

147. Oglethorpe and associates found Georgia; their objects; the charter. — Of the thirteen colonies, none had a nobler origin than Georgia, the last of the series. In answer to a petition made by the soldier and philanthropist James Oglethorpe and others, George II. granted (1732) to him and his associates a tract of land for twenty-one years, in the southern part of South Carolina (§ 132).[333] The tract embraced

the country bordering on the Atlantic between "the most northern part" of the Savannah and "the most southern stream" of the Altamaha Rivers; "westerly" it extended "from the heads of the said rivers" to the "South Seas" or the Pacific.[334]

Oglethorpe had three chief objects in view: 1. To give the worthy and honest poor of England — especially those confined in debtors' prisons — an opportunity to begin life anew under more favorable circumstances than the Old World could offer them. 2. To furnish a refuge to the persecuted Protestants of southern Europe. 3. To protect the Carolinians against the attacks of the Spaniards of Florida by building up a settlement on the southern frontier.[335]



The new colony was named Georgia, in honor of the King. The Company, with Oglethorpe as their head, were to hold the region "in trust for the poor." They had full power to make needful laws, subject of course to the King's approval. The charter granted freedom of worship to all persons except Catholics.[336] For ten years every settler was to have an allotment of land free of rent; after that time he was to pay four pence annually for every hundred acres. All estates were to descend in the male line from father to son. This provision caused much dissatisfaction to those who had no children but daughters, and the law was soon modified (1739), so that women could inherit land.

148. Vexatious regulations; slavery excluded; the production of silk. — The weak part of Oglethorpe's philanthropic scheme was that it treated the settlers of Georgia not

as men but as children. The colonists had no votes and no voice in the Government. Furthermore, for nearly twenty years they could obtain no clear title to land.[337] But these were not the only regulations which irritated the emigrants. In England distilled liquors had recently supplanted beer to a great extent, and had caused a decided increase in drunkenness. The trustees of Georgia determined to banish intemperance from their model commonwealth in the wilderness. For this reason they "absolutely prohibited" the importation of alcoholic spirits into the province.[338] This prohibition cut off the people from trading with the West Indies, one of whose chief exports was rum, and so retarded the growth of Georgia.

The trustees also forbade the colonists holding slaves, — though every other American colony held them. Oglethorpe declared that slavery was "a horrid crime" contrary to "the gospel" and to "the fundamental law of England."[339] Political and prudential reasons also influenced the trustees. They wished to make the colonists self-supporting; they believed that slave labor would create habits of idleness on the part of the large planters, while the poor whites would starve because unable to compete with the blacks.[340] Furthermore, the trustees thought that nothing but a compact white population could serve as a barrier against the invasions of the savages and the Spaniards;[341] hence they did not object to the importation of white apprentices, whose services were sold for a term of years.

It was confidently expected that by white labor alone the colony would become a great silk-producing settlement. Mulberry trees, the leaves of which are the natural food of the silkworm, grew wild in that region. The work of raising and caring for the worms was so easy that much of it could be left to the women and children. Oglethorpe thought that "forty or fifty thousand persons" might be employed in this way.

The colonial seal adopted by the trustees was symbolical not only of this industry, but of the unselfish motives of the founders of the province. On it was represented a group of

silkworms spinning their cocoons, while underneath was the appropriate motto: "Non sibi, sed aliis," — "Not for themselves, but for others."

149. Settlement of Savannah (1733); the Salzburgers; Scotch Highlanders. — With these shining prospects before him, Oglethorpe set sail in 1733 with a company of "sober, industrious, and moral persons," to take possession of the "Promised Land." A settlement was made on a high bluff on the Savannah River. There a city named from the river was laid out. The site was admirably chosen, and Savannah is to-day the largest cotton-exporting port in the United States, New Orleans alone excepted.

The year following the settlement, a band of German Protestants, who had been driven out of Salzburg, Austria, by religious persecution, arrived (1734) at Savannah. They established themselves about thirty miles north of that town, at a place which they, like the Israelites of old, named "Ebenezer," or "Stone of Help."[342] More such refugees soon followed.

Later (1736), the trustees sent over a number of Scotch Highlanders to protect the southern frontier. The Scotchmen erected a fort on the Altamaha and another at Frederica at the mouth of the river, to repel Spanish invasion.

The next year the fur-trading post of Augusta was established on the upper waters of the Savannah River. It became an important and highly profitable center of traffic with the Indian tribes west of the mountains. From this point at a later period two thousand pack-horse loads of valuable skins worth about £50,000 were annually sent to Europe.[343]

150. The Wesleys; Whitefield and slavery. — Among those who early came to Savannah were John and Charles Wesley. John came to do missionary work; his brother Charles acted as secretary to Oglethorpe. John Wesley, though just beginning his career, was a preacher of great power. "I went to America," said he, "to convert the Indians; but oh!" he added, "who shall convert me?"[344] Out of that strong religious con-

viction sprang the Methodist Church, which he organized in England, — a Church destined to do much toward shaping the history of that country and of our own.

The Wesleys were followed by that noted Methodist revivalist, the Reverend George Whitefield, whose impassioned appeals not even the imperturbable Franklin could entirely withstand. Whitefield came to Georgia to found an orphan asylum near Savannah. In order to get more money for its support, he purchased a plantation (1747) in South Carolina, stocked it with slaves, and gave the products and profits to his "House of Mercy."

John Wesley, who later (1772) denounced slavery as the "sum of all villanies," had not then taken any open stand against it. Whitefield was outspoken in its favor. He declared that Georgia would never flourish "without negroes are allowed."[345] To grant the settlers land, said he, yet refuse them slaves to work it, is like tying the colonists' legs, and then ordering them to walk.[346] Whitefield had a large number of the people on his side. The attempts to produce silk had ended in failure, and the settlers implored the trustees to permit them to buy negroes.[347]

151. The introduction of negroes and the importation of rum. — Meanwhile some of the colonists succeeded in hiring negroes from the planters in South Carolina. They got them at first for short periods, but later hired them for life. The trustees saw that slavery in one form or another was certain to creep in, and they at length (1749) reluctantly gave their consent to its open and legal introduction.

They also conceded the importation and sale of rum, a liquor which had long been smuggled into the colony. The establishment of slavery led to the formation of large plantations for raising rice and other products suited to the soil. This change in the labor system placed Georgia on an industrial equality with South Carolina, and the free importation of rum from the West Indies gradually gave rise to a prosperous trade with those islands.

152. Oglethorpe and the Spaniards. — Meanwhile the colony, feeble as it was in numbers, served as an effectual barrier against the encroachments of the Spaniards. Oglethorpe had strengthened the southern frontier with forts, and had secured the friendship of several Indian tribes. In 1740 he led an expedition against the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine (§ 23). In retaliation the Spaniards (1742) besieged Frederica (§ 149); but the fort held out against the attack.

General Oglethorpe had valiantly defended the colony, but the colonists were greatly dissatisfied with the government by the trustees, and were constantly sending complaints to London. The General went to England, and refuted these charges. He never returned to the colony, and the trustees appointed a President and council of four to administer the affairs of the province, but the discontent remained unabated. The people of Georgia felt able to take care of their own interests, and were weary of the paternal government by which those in authority kept them in leading-strings.

In 1751 the trustees surrendered their charter to the Crown. They had found that the profit did not equal the expense, and they gladly gave up their well-meant but badly managed experiment.

153. Georgia becomes a royal province; American rights. — By the surrender of the charter, Georgia now (1752) became a royal province, and so continued until the Revolution. This was a decided change for the better, since, as in the other royal provinces, an Assembly was created, and the people thus obtained a voice in the Government.[348] Even then — after twenty years' existence — the colony had gained so little in numbers that the entire population, including slaves, was estimated at less than five thousand.[349]

At the opening of the War for Independence, the patriot party in Georgia took a firm stand for "American rights." When the port of Boston was closed as a punishment for the destruction of the taxed tea, the people of Georgia generously

sent nearly six hundred barrels of rice to feed the suffering poor of the Massachusetts capital.[850] After the battles of Lexington and Concord, the citizens of Savannah seized a quantity of the King's powder which was stored there. Part of it they retained for themselves; tradition says that they sent the remainder to the Continental Army at Cambridge. It arrived in season for effectual use at the battle of Bunker Hill.[851]

General Oglethorpe must have heard of these proceedings with no small interest. He lived to see Georgia take its place among the United States, and to see England sign a treaty of peace, recognizing the independence of the American nation.[852]

154. Summary. — Georgia, the last of the thirteen colonies, was founded (1733) for purposes of charity, and as a refuge for the oppressed Protestants of Germany. For a time its growth was hampered by vexatious regulations, and by laws restricting trade and excluding slavery. In 1751 Georgia became a royal province, and the people through their Assembly obtained a voice in the Government. At the beginning of the Revolution, the patriot party in Georgia took an active part in aiding Massachusetts, and in furnishing powder for the Continental Army.

Exploration of the Mississippi Valley.

155. The French in the West; the French and the Indians; Catholic missions. — While the English colonists were getting possession of the strip of Atlantic coast east of the Alleghanies, the French in Canada were rapidly pushing westward.

The fact that powerful Indian tribes held that unknown region greatly facilitated the progress of the French. Champlain, the "Father of New France," first conceived the idea of acquiring possession of the western country by conciliating the natives. With the exception of his fatal mistake of entering into an alliance with the Canadian Indians against the Iroquois of New York, he was successful in his plans. The English did not understand the Indian character; the French endeavored to

adapt themselves to the Red Man's ways, and so won his lasting friendship. This they could do the more readily as their purpose at the outset was not, like the English, to plant colonies, but to establish fur-trading posts, which, of course, did not interfere with the Indian's control of the forest.[353]

Champlain induced a number of Franciscan friars to come over as missionaries (1615), and begin the work of converting the savages. He meant to save the heathen, and at the same time save the cause of France in the New World.

Taking his life in his hands, one of these gray-robed friars leaving Quebec (1615) resolutely turned his face toward the west, and struck out into the pathless wilderness. He reached Lake Huron, and there set up his altar in an Indian wigwam on the shore of Thunder Bay.[354]

Ten years later (1625) the Jesuit Fathers in France came over to help the Franciscans. The Jesuits infused new life into the undertaking. Cardinal Richelieu, then the power behind the throne, was determined that no emigrants but French Catholics should land in Canada. The Jesuits, on their side, resolved to win over the entire native population of New France to the faith they preached.

These "peaceful soldiers of the cross" braved hunger, cold, torture, and death.[355] Long before William Penn's band of colonists had built the first log-cabin on the banks of the Delaware, the French priests — or "Black Gowns," as the Indians called them — had planted missions at Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, and at Kaskaskia on the Illinois. They were the first white men to discover the salt springs of Onondaga, New York, and the copper mines of Lake Superior. They, too, first described and mapped out the upper Great Lakes and the streams flowing into them.

156. Marquette and Joliet discover the Mississippi (1673). — The Indians told the Jesuits that there was an immense river in the west which flowed southward to an unknown distance. When Count Frontenac (§ 66) became Governor of Canada

(1672), he sent Father Marquette accompanied by Joliet, a noted fur-trader, to discover the river. The French hoped that it emptied into the Gulf of California, and that it would open the long-sought way across the continent to the Pacific.

Starting from the Straits of Mackinaw (1673) Marquette and Joliet paddled their birch-bark canoes to Green Bay. From that point they laboriously pushed their way up the rapids of the Fox River, — "a way," said the good Father, "as hard as the path to Heaven." At Portage they left the Fox, and, carrying their canoes across the country a short distance, embarked on the Wisconsin. For a week they floated down with the current, until on a beautiful day in June, says Marquette, "we safely entered the Mississippi with a joy that I cannot express."

157. Voyage down the Mississippi, and return. — Down that great river they glided day after day. They passed the mouth of the Illinois, the castellated rocks, the painted limestone cliffs, and the roaring flood of the muddy Missouri.

Still keeping on, Marquette and Joliet reached the mouth of the placid Ohio, and two days later passed the point where De Soto (§ 20) had crossed the Mississippi more than a hundred and thirty years before. Thence moving southward in the shadow of forests of cottonwood, magnolia, and cypress, they came to the mouth of the Arkansas. There the natives warned them that they would encounter hostile tribes if they ventured farther down the stream.

The explorers now turned back, and, under the fierce rays of a July sun, began the exhausting toil of pushing their canoes up stream against the powerful current. In time they reached a tributary of the Illinois, and crossing over to the Chicago River, entered the waters of Lake Michigan, where the greatest city of the Northwest now stands.[356]

158. La Salle's expedition to the Illinois country (1679–80). — Six years later (1679) La Salle, the commander of Fort Frontenac (now Kingston), set out to secure the possession of

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THE FRENCH IN THE WEST.

the Mississippi to France, and to open up trade with Mexico.[357] He made his way to the Niagara River. There, a short distance above the Falls, he built the "Griffin," the first vessel ever launched on the waters of the upper Great Lakes.

La Salle with his little party, among whom was Father Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, sailed (1679) to Green Bay. At Green Bay he loaded the "Griffin" with furs, and sent the vessel back to Niagara with orders to obtain a cargo of supplies, and return to him at the Chicago River or vicinity. The vessel was never again heard of. La Salle then embarked with his men in a fleet of canoes for the St. Joseph River on the east side of the lake. At that point (1679) the commander constructed Fort Miami. He then ascended the St. Joseph, and crossing over the portage to the head waters of the Kankakee River, descended that stream, entered the Illinois, and kept on until (1680) he reached Peoria Lake. There he constructed Fort Crèvecœur. This fort marks the first attempt made by white men to take permanent possession of what is now the State of Illinois.[358]

La Salle spent the winter (1679–80) at the fort, anxiously awaiting news of the arrival of the "Griffin" with provisions and supplies, which would enable him to complete a small vessel, in which he purposed descending the Mississippi. No tidings of the "Griffin" came, and La Salle at length resolved to go back to Fort Frontenac and get the things he needed. Leaving a small garrison to hold Fort Crèvecœur he set out on the first of March (1680), accompanied by five of his followers, on his perilous journey of a thousand miles.

159. Father Hennepin's journey; La Salle explores the lower Mississippi and takes possession of "Louisiana" (1682); his death.— Shortly before La Salle left Fort Crèvecœur he sent Father Hennepin (§ 158) to explore the lower Illinois. Hennepin went down that river to its mouth and then turned northward up the Mississippi. After many adventures among the Indians he passed the site where the flourish-

ing city of St. Paul now stands, and reached (1680) a cataract, which he named the Falls of St. Anthony; to-day those falls furnish the magnificent water-power of Minneapolis, the largest flour-manufacturing center in the world.

When the French commander returned to the Illinois he found Fort Crèvecœur deserted. A band of Iroquois warriors had destroyed it. He was forced to turn back and seek shelter (1680) in Fort Miami (§ 158).

Subsequently La Salle, with a strong party, started (1681) for the third time to explore the Mississippi. Late in the season they left Fort Miami and crossed Lake Michigan to the Chicago River. Following the frozen Illinois they reached open water just below Lake Peoria. There they embarked in their canoes, and in February (1682) entered the Mississippi. Early in April the French came in sight of the gleaming waves of the Gulf of Mexico.

A few days later, amid volleys of musketry and shouts of "Long live the King!" La Salle planted a wooden column bearing the arms of France at one of the mouths of the "Great River of the West." Then, in the name of Louis XIV. of France, he took formal possession of the Mississippi from its source to the sea, and of all the country watered by it and by its tributaries. This immense territory, stretching from Lake Itasca to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, La Salle named Louisiana, in honor of the reigning French sovereign.[359] France gained all this magnificent empire more than thirty years before the English had ventured as far west as the Blue Ridge (§ 137).

But the Mississippi empties into a sea which Spain claimed as her own, and she threatened death to all foreigners who should enter it. La Salle resolved to brave that decree, to fortify the mouth of the river, and to hold the great valley of the West against the world. The hand of an assassin (1687) put a stop to the execution of his plan.

160. Iberville's settlement; Mobile founded (1702); the "Mississippi Company"; New Orleans founded (1718). — A number of years later, Iberville, a French Canadian explorer, built a fort at Biloxi, on the Gulf of Mexico (1699); he thus began the first European occupation of what is now the State of Mississippi.

A company of French Protestants begged Louis XIV. to grant them permission to emigrate to Louisiana. They received this answer: "The King has not driven Protestants from France to make a republic of them in America."[360] The Biloxi colonists did not succeed, and were transferred (1702) to Mobile; there they laid the foundation of a settlement which eventually became the State of Alabama.

A number of years later, reports reached Paris that a Frenchman had found enormous deposits of gold in the Illinois country. John Law, a clever Scotch financier, who was doing business in the French capital, got himself appointed (1717) president of a grand stock company to work these gold mines, and develop the resources of Louisiana. Law proposed to pay off the French national debt of $500,000,000, out of the profits of this gigantic undertaking. All Paris was seized with a mad fever of speculation. When the bubble burst, thousands of Frenchmen cursed the day when they first heard the name of Louisiana.[361] But Law's scheme had one good result: Bienville, a brother of Iberville, had been appointed commander-general of Louisiana, and in 1718 he made a clearing in the canebrakes on the east bank of the Mississippi, and there founded the city of New Orleans.

Henceforth New Orleans controlled the mouth of the river. That immense stream, with its tributaries, drains the largest agricultural valley on the globe, having an area greater than that of Central Europe, and capable of producing grain enough to feed all the inhabitants of Europe and America.

161. The French in the North and the West; French forts. — Meanwhile the French had not been idle at the North.

Kaskaskia, in Illinois, was settled (1695). Duluth had built a fort on the northern shore of Lake Superior, had "visited the spot where the city since named for him stands," and had explored much further west. He advised building a fort on the straits connecting Lake Erie with Lake Huron. The French acted on that suggestion and founded (1701) the fortified post of Detroit. A little later (1702) they built a fort at Vincennes, the oldest town in Indiana.

In 1720 the French built Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi, in southern Illinois. It was one of the most formidable strongholds on the continent, and formed one more link in that chain of fortifications which Louis XIV. was extending from Quebec to New Orleans. By means of those forts France intended to make good her claim to the country west of the Alleghanies when the great final struggle for the mastery should come with the English.

162. War between the French and the English; Frontenac's plans; attack on Schenectady; on Haverhill; the English colonists attack Canada. — The war (known as "King William's War") had, in fact, already begun in the Old World, and Frontenac (§ 66) simply opened the American side (1689–1697) of the terrible contest. It was a struggle for religious as well as for political supremacy, and Catholics and Protestants were arrayed against each other. Frontenac intended to seize New York and drive the inhabitants into the wilderness. This plan failed, but he sent a party of French and Indians (1690), who fell upon the little Dutch settlement of Schenectady and destroyed it.

At the suggestion of Jacob Leisler, Governor of New York (§ 67), an attack on Canada was planned. Sir William Phips, of Maine, took the French fort at Port Royal, Acadia (now Nova Scotia), and stripped the place bare, bringing away even the Governor's silver spoons and his new dress wigs.

In a later expedition against Quebec Phips was repulsed, and the "pinch of famine" forced a disastrous defeat. His men

clamored for their pay, and Massachusetts, having no coin to give them, issued her first paper money (£40,000), in order to settle the demand.[862] That colony had now to shoulder the burden of a heavy debt, with nothing to pay it but paper currency, which soon fell to half its face value.

163. "Queen Anne's War"; Indian attacks; Port Royal, Quebec; King George's War; Louisburg taken. — In the second, or "Queen Anne's War" (1702–1713), the French and Indians swept the coast of Maine from Casco to Wells. The next winter they burned Deerfield, Massachusetts, and carried away most of the inhabitants into captivity.

On the other hand an expedition sailed from Boston (1710) and took permanent possession of Port Royal, which was henceforth called Annapolis in honor of the reigning Queen of England.

The next summer (1711) a combined force of English troops and colonists was sent against Quebec. Eight ships of the squadron were wrecked in the St. Lawrence, and nearly nine hundred men were lost. A council of war voted not to proceed further. When peace was made (1713) Great Britain kept Annapolis, obtained full possession of Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, which now received the name of Nova Scotia.

The third or "King George's War" (1744–1748) was marked by a splendid victory. The French fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island guarded the entrance to the St. Lawrence. Colonel William Pepperrell of Maine led (1745) a secret expedition against this stronghold, which, with its walls of solid masonry twenty feet high, seemed to defy attack.

New England, New York, and Pennsylvania contributed men, artillery, and provisions for the expedition. Aided by a small English fleet the little army of fishermen, lumbermen, and farmers besieged the fortress for six weeks. Meanwhile the people of Boston were holding weekly prayer-meetings in behalf of the desperate enterprise. The commander of the

fortress was unfit for his place, and his garrison was mutinous. The fort fell, and the news of this victory filled New England with joy. George II. was so delighted that he made the American commander a baronet, — Sir William Pepperrell, — an honor never before conferred on one of our countrymen.[363]

When peace was made (1748) the fortress was restored to France; but its former fame was gone. The "Yankees" had mastered those proud walls, which the French King had boasted no power on earth could take.

164. The "French and Indian War"; Canada and the English colonies compared; the Ohio country. — The fourth and last, or "French and Indian War" (1754–1763), marks the culmination of the struggle between France and England for the possession of America. Hitherto New England and New York had borne the brunt of the contest, but now the whole country as far south as Virginia was threatened by the advance of the French toward the valley of the Ohio. The English colonies had a population more than ten times greater than that of Canada, but the Canadians were ruled by a despotic king who could and would force every man into the army.

As early as 1716 Governor Spotswood of Virginia (§ 137) had seen the importance of securing the rich country beyond the Blue Ridge, and had urged the English Government to occupy the valley of the Ohio. But it was more than thirty years later before any decided action was taken. Then (1748) Lawrence Washington, an elder brother of George Washington, united with a number of influential Virginians in organizing the Ohio Company.

This Company obtained from the King a grant of 500,000 acres of land on the east bank of the upper Ohio. The tract lay mainly between the great Kanawha and Monongahela Rivers, — a region now embraced by west Virginia and southwest Pennsylvania. The Company proposed to plant settlements in the "Ohio country," to speculate in western lands, and to carry on the fur trade with the Indians.[364]

Some years later (1753) they opened a road by "Will's Creek" — a branch of the Potomac — and made preparations to send out emigrants. The French, through the explorations of La Salle (§ 159), claimed the "Ohio country" as their own. They resented its occupation by the English as an act of trespass, and promptly built a fort at Presque Isle (Erie) to defend their rights. They soon began a second (Fort Le Bœuf) south of it, and then a third south of that, at Venango.

165. Washington's expedition (1753); Fort Duquesne; the skirmish; Fort Necessity. — Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent (1753) Major George Washington, a young man of twenty-one, to order the French to leave the country. It was a difficult and perilous undertaking, involving a winter's journey of nearly a thousand miles through the wilderness. Washington reached Venango, but the French officer at that post told him with an oath that the English should never have the Ohio; and the commander at Fort Le Bœuf gave him the same answer.

On his way through the forests Washington stopped at the point where the waters of the Alleghany and the Monongahela unite to form the Ohio. "I spent some time," said he, "in viewing the rivers. The land in the fork has the absolute command of both." [365] Washington reported the military importance of the position to Governor Dinwiddie, and the Governor sent (1754) a party of men to erect a fort at that "Gateway of the West." The French swooped down upon the party, drove them off, and erected a rude structure which they named Fort Duquesne.

A little later a detachment of French soldiers from Fort Duquesne encountered Washington at the head of a small party of Virginians.[366] The young man at once gave the command to fire. It was the first shot in a war destined to determine the fate of France in the New World. The victory of the Virginians foretold the final triumph of the English in the great struggle.

Colonel Washington now hastily built the stockade of Fort Necessity. Here on the fourth day of July, 1754, a strong body

of French forced him to surrender. Just twenty-one years from that date, lacking a single day, Washington took command of the Continental Army which was to win the war of the Revolution.

166. The Albany Congress (1754); Franklin's plan of confederation. — The colonists now felt the need of united action. A congress was called at Albany (1754), to which New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the four New England colonies sent delegates. Representative warriors of the "Six Nations" met with the congress.

Franklin, who was editing the "Pennsylvania Gazette," had already made vigorous appeals in favor of union. He had emphasized the divided and helpless state of the colonies by a rude wood-cut representing a snake cut in pieces, with the motto, "Join or die." He proposed that the colonies should form a confederation under the government of a president to be appointed and supported by the Crown, and a council chosen by the colonial assemblies.

The congress unanimously accepted Franklin's plan, but the colonial assemblies and the Crown rejected it. The assemblies refused it because they thought it gave too much power to the King; the King, because he considered that it gave too much power to the people. Even then reflecting men in England "dreaded American union as the keystone of independence." [367]

167. Preparations for Braddock's campaign. — The next year (1755) England sent over General Braddock to Virginia to lead an army of British regulars against the French. Braddock was a veteran soldier, boastful and brave, and accustomed to do everything with the cut-and-dried precision of European military methods. He despised backwoodsmen and backwoods ways of fighting.

The plan of the campaign was to attack the French simultaneously at four important points — Fort Duquesne, Fort Niagara, Crown Point, and Fort Beauséjour at the head of the Bay of Fundy. If successful, these movements would drive the French back to Canada.

168. Braddock's expedition; Washington; the expulsion of the Acadians. — Early in June (1755) Braddock set out accompanied by Colonel Washington and a body of Virginians, all eager to fight for "the best of kings." Braddock advanced from Fort Cumberland, at the base of the Alleghanies, and began to climb the rough ridges of the mountains. Three hundred axe-men led the van to clear the way. Behind them came the British regulars, a glittering array of scarlet and steel. The distance to Fort Duquesne was about a hundred and thirty miles. The progress of the army was so slow that after a month's march they were still five miles from their destination. Up to this point all had gone well, when suddenly the English advance was greeted with a terrific Indian war-whoop and was fired upon by an unseen foe.

Braddock fell, mortally wounded, and the British regulars "ran like sheep pursued by dogs." [368] The Virginians with Washington at their head were the only men on the English side who did any successful fighting. Braddock had lost more than half of his army. Washington saved what was left. This disastrous defeat of British troops had one good result: it inspired the Virginians with confidence in their own methods of fighting, and it led at once to the creation of a military organization for the defence of the colony.

The attack on Fort Niagara was given up, but that on Crown Point and on Fort Beauséjour were completely successful. Then came the question what action should be taken respecting the Acadians, who, by conquest, were subjects of the King of England (§ 163), and were called "French neutrals." But at Beauséjour no less than three hundred of these "neutrals" had been found fighting on the side of France.

The British authorities suspected that the whole French population of Nova Scotia was secretly hostile to King George. They now urged the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance to the English sovereign; but nine-tenths of them refused. Then it was determined to banish them from the country. The

unsuspecting people were called together in their parish churches, and suddenly made prisoners. They were then hurried on board of British transports, and carried off to be distributed throughout the colonies from Maine to Georgia. The whole number thus kidnapped was between six and seven thousand. It was a terrible act, but apparently not contrary to the law of nations, and even France did not remonstrate.[369]

169. Pitt and victory. — The "French and Indian War" had now been going on for more than three years, but the English could show no adequate results. Then (1757) the elder William Pitt came into power; he soon became the directing power of the British Government. A master's hand now grasped the helm. He had faith in America. He called on the colonists to furnish twenty thousand men for a vigorous campaign. Pitt inspired the army with his own enthusiasm, and they marched to victory. Louisburg was retaken (1758), and the famous fort was dismantled and destroyed.

Colonel George Washington planned the line of march of an expedition of seven thousand men against Fort Duquesne (1758); the French commander, having but a feeble garrison, blew up the fort and fled. A new structure was built on the ruins of the French stronghold, and named Fort Pitt in honor of the great statesman whose genius had made the war a success. A settlement sprang up around this military post which has since grown into the great manufacturing city of Pittsburg.

Sir William Johnson of Johnson Hall, New York, led his Iroquois "braves" against Fort Niagara, and took it. Ticonderoga and Crown Point fell, and so throughout the East the French were driven back to Canada.

170. Wolfe takes Quebec (1759). — The next move made by the English was on Canada itself. Montcalm, one of the bravest and noblest of French soldiers, held the world-renowned fortress of Quebec. General Wolfe, the young English officer who had stormed the batteries of Louisburg (1758), led the force against Quebec. He besieged the place for nearly three

months (1759), but without avail. Out of his army of less than nine thousand men, he had lost nearly a thousand in desperate assaults on the works. Wolfe had fretted himself into a fever, and began to doubt whether he should win the day.

Finally the English commander determined to make an attempt to scale the heights above the town. On a starlight night in September (1759) Wolfe landed five thousand men on the north shore of the river at the little cove which he himself had discovered, and which is now called by his name.

Feeling their way in the darkness, the soldiers seized hold of projections of the rocks, branches of trees, and bushes, and so noiselessly climbed up the almost perpendicular heights. When they reached the top, they re-formed and marched silently on until they came to the Plains of Abraham, outside the walls of Upper Quebec. There at dawn the French discovered them. There the decisive battle was fought. Both generals fell, mortally wounded. Wolfe lay bleeding on the ground, supported by an officer. "They run! they run!" exclaimed the officer. "Who run?" asked Wolfe. "The French," was the reply. The English commander gave a final order, and then exclaimed, with his last breath, "Now God be praised, I die in peace."

Montcalm also lay dying. When told by the surgeon that he could not survive more than ten or twelve hours, he said: "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." [370]

The fall of the capital of Canada virtually ended the war. It left the English in possession of everything which they had fought to gain, though peace was not formally declared until 1763.

171. **Conspiracy of Pontiac (1763).**— Four years later (1763) Pontiac, chief of a Michigan tribe, led a revolt of the savages living in the vicinity of the upper lakes. The chief was friendly to the French, and he believed that with their help he could drive the English from the West.

It was the most formidable and widespread plot ever devised by an Indian brain. Pontiac hoped to unite all of the savage tribes west of the Alleghanies in a general movement against the colonies. The uprising met with such success that out of twelve military posts the Indians took eight and massacred their garrisons. In the whole West only the forts at Detroit, Niagara, and Pittsburg held out against the savages. The final battle was fought under the walls of Detroit (1763). Two years later (1765) Pontiac was forced to beg for peace.[371] It was the last general attempt on the part of the western tribes to drive out the English settlers until, nearly half a century later, Tecumseh stirred up his famous revolt (1811).

172. Results of the struggle between England and France for the possession of America (1689–1763). — By a treaty of peace made in 1763, France ceded to England all of her American possessions east of the Mississippi, except two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland which Great Britain permitted her to keep "as a shelter to her fishermen."[372] By a secret treaty made the previous year (1762), France had transferred her lands west of the Mississippi to Spain; the result was that out of all her magnificent domain on the North American continent she now had not even a foothold left.

North America after the Treaty of 1763.

Meanwhile (1762) Spain, in return for the restoration of Cuba, had ceded Florida to England.[373] At the close of 1763, England held the whole continent, east of the Mississippi, from the frozen shores of the Polar Sea to the coral reefs of Florida,

while Spain had her grasp on all the country west of the great river to the Pacific.

But England paid a heavy price for the vast territory she had wrested from France. The expense of the war (in Europe and America) doubled the English national debt, — raising it from £70,000,000 to £140,000,000.[874] The British tax-payers protested loudly against further outlay; but further outlay seemed an absolute necessity.

The Crown declared that a standing army of at least ten thousand men must be sent to America. This force was to hold Canada and the Ohio Valley, — otherwise the French and the Indians might rise and get back all that they had lost.

In order to obtain money to pay this army, England resolved to impose a direct tax on the colonies. Burke said that this tax was the origin of the quarrel between the colonists and the mother-country.[875]

If, then, one result of the French war was greatly to increase the extent of the American possessions held by England, on the other hand, the expense of that contest forced the King to adopt a policy which roused the colonists to resist his demands. George III. refused to make any concessions, and relentlessly pushed his claims, until finally the Americans rose and fought the War for Independence.

General View of the Thirteen Colonies in 1763.

173. — **Settlement and population.** — In 1763 the population of the thirteen colonies was not far from 1,800,000, — or considerably less than that of New York City to-day. Of this population, somewhat more than 300,000 were slaves. These slaves were distributed throughout the colonies, but the number held north of Mason and Dixon's line (§ 145) was comparatively very small. The three largest cities were Philadelphia, New York, and Boston; but none of them had a population exceeding 30,000.

By virtue of their original "sea-to-sea" charters, all but two of which had been annulled, six of the thirteen colonies, under the treaty of 1763 (§ 170), claimed the Mississippi for their western boundary line. New York made a similar claim on the ground of purchase of lands north of the Ohio from the Six Nations (§ 32).

The great majority of the people lived along the Atlantic coast. Each colony had, as a rule, its own seaports, and was, therefore, commercially independent of the others; west of the Alleghanies the whole country was almost an unbroken wilderness, although some adventurous pioneers had pushed into that region and made a few clearings in the forests.

In New England a large proportion of the people had gathered in towns which had grown up around the parish meeting-house and the schoolhouse. Independent of all questions of trade, the religious societies of these colonists would have kept them compactly together. In the Middle colonies the towns likewise embraced a majority of the population; but, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the Indians of that section were generally friendly, there were more scattered settlements than in New England, and in some cases they extended farther westward. At the South, the tobacco and rice plantations did not favor the growth of compact settlements. Jefferson humorously declared: "The law has said that there shall be towns, but nature has said there 'shall not.'" Generally speaking, the colonists lived apart from each other. Charleston, Baltimore, and Savannah were the principal Southern cities, and of these the first, only, had a population exceeding 5,000.

A large majority of the people, especially in New England and Virginia, were of pure English descent. In the Middle colonies, especially in Pennsylvania and New York, there were a good many Germans and Dutch, besides some Swedes and Scotch. South Carolina had an influential Huguenot (§ 135) element, and probably most, if not, indeed, all of the colonies, had more or less of the same class, with some Irish, and a few

Jews; as for the Scotch-Irish (§ 52), they or their descendants could be found in varying numbers everywhere. Probably about one-fifth of the population of the thirteen colonies had some other language than English for their mother tongue. Collectively, the people called themselves "Americans." Owing to the immense immigration which has since taken place, not much more than half of our present population can claim the English as their native language.[876]

174. Government of the colonies. — Three forms of government were in force in the colonies in 1763, namely, government by charter (Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), by Proprietaries (Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland), and by the Crown in the seven remaining provinces. The general supervision of the colonies was in the hands of a Board of Trade, popularly called the "Lords of Trade." This board, appointed by the King (1696), had its headquarters in London. It required annual reports from the colonial Governors in America concerning the general condition and growth of their respective provinces.

No other colonists in the world enjoyed the political liberty which England granted to her subjects in America. The Spanish and French governments on this continent were practically military despotisms, and the settlers in Mexico, Florida, and Canada had no voice whatever in making laws, electing officers, or levying taxes.[877] Holland indeed was disposed to treat her provinces in a more liberal spirit, but still she gave them far less than England gave hers.

Two of the thirteen colonies — Connecticut and Rhode Island — elected their Governors and their Legislatures; they were republics in everything but name. In the remaining eleven colonies, though the King or the Proprietaries appointed the Governors, yet the people elected the members of the Assembly.

These eleven Governors, who were in most cases Englishmen sent over by the King, were clothed with the following powers:

they (1) commanded the military and naval forces of their respective colonies; (2) they chose the members of the council or upper house of legislature; (3) they made grants of lands and collected land-rents; (4) they granted pardons; (5) they assembled and dissolved the Legislature, and (except in Pennsylvania) they could permanently veto any legislative bill.

The colonial Legislatures had three most important powers: (1) they (with the Governor's consent) enacted the laws, — which, however, were not to be repugnant to those of England; (2) they levied all general taxes; (3) they fixed the amount of the Governor's salary, and also the salaries of the judges (until 1761), and other leading officers. This power over the purse gave the Legislatures the virtual control of the Government, and as the lower house was made up entirely of representatives elected by the people, this made them the real rulers.

In all the colonies the right to vote was limited to persons owning a certain amount of landed property. In all of the colonies, except Pennsylvania and Delaware, Catholics were excluded from the polls, though it is denied that this law was enforced in Rhode Island (§ 126). The restriction of suffrage to property-holders cut off a large per cent of the adult male population from any voice in the direct management of public affairs. In Rhode Island this state of things eventually led to what is known as the Dorr Rebellion (1842). An order of Queen Anne's (1702), enforcing the Test Act, deprived all persons not Protestants from holding any public office in the colonies.[378]

The common law of England was also the common law of the colonies; but it was modified by the special enactments of the different Legislatures.

In Massachusetts, and generally throughout New England, each town managed its local affairs by a meeting held once a year. At such meetings the people voted for town officers, for the building and repair of roads, the care of the poor, and the sup-

port of churches and schools. This system made New England a collection of "village republics," in which all gradation of power was from the people upward (§ 88).

In Virginia, and generally throughout the South, the management of local affairs, such as the building and repair of roads and the levying of taxes for such purposes, was under the control of certain county officers appointed by the Governor; so that in the South the gradation of power was from the Governor downward (§ 43). Each parish however had a self-elected committee (§ 43), composed usually of the leading members of the Episcopal Church (the only Church there established by law). These committees, which were practically self-elective, and hence close corporations, provided for the maintenance of public worship, and looked after the poor.

In the Middle colonies a mixed system of town and county government prevailed, the people of the towns electing one or more of the county officers.[379]

175. Courts of justice; laws of inheritance. — Except in the three proprietary colonies (Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware) and in Connecticut and Rhode Island, the Crown, directly or indirectly, appointed the judges of the superior courts. They held their office, not during good behavior, as in England, but during the pleasure of the royal Governor, or of his master the King. For this reason the judges naturally felt themselves bound to maintain the interests of the Crown; but on the other hand up to 1761 they were constantly reminded by the Assemblies that their salaries depended on the good will of the people who paid them. After 1761 the salaries of the judges were paid out of the King's land-rents, and so the judges were freed from all responsibility to the people.

The vice-admiralty courts, which were established to deal with maritime cases, were especially obnoxious to the mercantile community. It was the duty of these courts to enforce the Navigation Acts, the Laws of Trade, and to punish smuggling. The cases were tried not by jury, but by a bench of judges.

The severity of their sentences made them especially unpopular with the merchants and shipowners.

If England discriminated by her Navigation Laws against her American colonies, on the other hand the colonists were not slow to retaliate. By the laws of Maryland (1704) an Englishman emigrating to that country could not hold office until after residence for a term of years; a similar law existed in other colonies.

In Massachusetts British merchants did not enjoy the same privileges as colonists. Throughout America colonial creditors had a prior claim in the collection of debts over English creditors.[880]

The laws and customs relating to the inheritance of real estate had an important influence on the condition of society. In Virginia, Maryland, and New York, property passed to the eldest son as in England. This system naturally tended to keep up the family name and position, and to establish a permanent landed aristocracy. Later (1776), Jefferson's attacks completely demolished this system in Virginia.

In New England the property was divided among all the children, but the eldest son usually received a double share.

The movement toward equal division eventually triumphed in all of the colonies. Daniel Webster said that these changes helped to lay the material basis of republican government.[881]

176. Conflicting interests of the colonies; slavery; the "Poor Whites." — Though the thirteen colonies were practically one in modes of government and in religion, and though the English race predominated, yet conflicting interests separated them on many points.

Unquestionably one of the most serious obstacles to union arose from the fact that the labor systems of the North and the South were radically unlike in their tendencies. The South was almost entirely devoted to agriculture in its simplest form; the North, while not neglecting agriculture, was largely devoted to commerce. Both sections held "indented apprentices"

(§ 42), and both owned negroes; but at the South climate, soil, and productions fostered the growth of slavery, and made it more and more profitable, while at the North all these influences were against it.

The foreign slave-trade was active; it was to a great extent in the hands of New England men, and there were merchants in Salem, Boston, and Newport who regularly sent out cargoes of trinkets and rum to Africa to exchange for ship-loads of Guinea negroes to be sold at auction in the South.[382]

James I. sent at least a hundred convicts to Virginia; later, many political prisoners taken in the civil wars were shipped as slaves to America — most of them probably to the British West Indies. In 1718 Parliament enacted a law permitting convicts to be transported to this country; between that date and 1776 large numbers were sent over, chiefly it would seem to the Barbadoes. There were also voluntary white indented immigrants, or "Redemptioners," who sold themselves for a term of years to pay the cost of their passage over. As late as 1792 Washington urged buying a ship-load of them in Germany to work on the public grounds and public buildings of the national capital.[383]

The industrial differences between the North and the South were producing two different types of civilization, and were breeding not only antagonism of interests, but bitter sectional hatred. Thus the seeds of the great conflict (1861–1865) were sown, and were slowly maturing for the inevitable harvest.

Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin were among the first who denounced slavery as a blight and a curse (§ 45). The people of the South were gradually separated into two classes: the few who owned slaves, and the many — the "Poor Whites" — who did not own them. They could not compete with negro labor, and they were ashamed to try to compete with it.

But the rich Southern slave-holders had whatever high-bred virtues naturally belong to an aristocracy. When the day of need came, this class furnished leaders in the cause of inde-

pendence who were every whit as ardent as those who sprang from New England or from the Middle colonies. The so-called "Poor Whites" showed too on the battlefields of the Revolution, as they did nearly a hundred years later on those of the Civil War, that they were not "poor" in courage, fortitude, or self-denial.

177. Colonial industries; commerce; manufactures; currency. — Down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, wages were quite generally regulated by law, and two shillings seems to have been the usual pay for a day's work.

The great staples of the South were tobacco, rice, indigo, and the products of the pine forests of North Carolina. Pennsylvania exported iron; New York carried on a large trade in furs. New England was actively engaged in whaling and cod-fishing, and in distilling rum from West India molasses. A gilt figure of a codfish still hangs in the chamber of the House of Representatives in the State House in Boston. Like the sack of wool in the English House of Lords, it is an honorable emblem of what was once a chief source of the wealth of Massachusetts.

Ship-building had long been carried on in New England and Pennsylvania, and the English ship-builders complained with good reason that America was driving their vessels from the ocean. Early in the eighteenth century (1713), Captain Andrew Robinson of Gloucester, Massachusetts, launched the first schooner — a type of vessel which has since come into use throughout the world.[384]

The commerce of the colonies grew steadily. New England had a fleet of between five and six hundred sailing craft employed in the West Indian and other foreign trade.

Large as our exports were, our imports from Great Britain were nearly twice as great, and Lord Chatham said in Parliament, "America is the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength." He declared that Great Britain made a profit of £2,000,000 a year out of her American trade.[385]

Aside from the production of certain classes of coarse goods, there were few manufactures in the colonies. The first woolen mill was set up by John Pearson in 1643 in Rowley, Massachusetts.[386] England, acting on the protective principle, checked the growth of colonial manufactures by all sorts of vexatious legislation in order that she might keep the monopoly of supply for her own merchants. The House of Commons resolved (1719) that "the erecting manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence,"[387] and later (1765), prohibited the iron-furnaces and iron-mills of Pennsylvania as "nuisances".[388]

Such goods as the colonists were permitted to produce were made largely by hand, although horse-power, wind-power, and water-power were used to some extent. Steam as a manufacturing agent was still unknown in the world, and the first steam-engine in America was not set up until about the beginning of the present century.[389]

The need of a sound currency was sorely felt in all of the colonies. In Virginia tobacco had served for money for a time, but unfortunately it was subject to sudden and violent fluctuations in value according as the price abroad rose and fell. In New England, and in some of the other colonies, wampum (§ 29) had long been in use, and did excellent service in trade with the Indians. Massachusetts, indeed, ventured to set up a mint and strike off debased silver coins, and coppers, but long before 1763 the mint had been suppressed. Most of the specie that came into the country consisted of Spanish dollars brought from the West Indies in exchange for exports, together with some English gold and silver; but this specie soon found its way into the pockets of the London merchants.

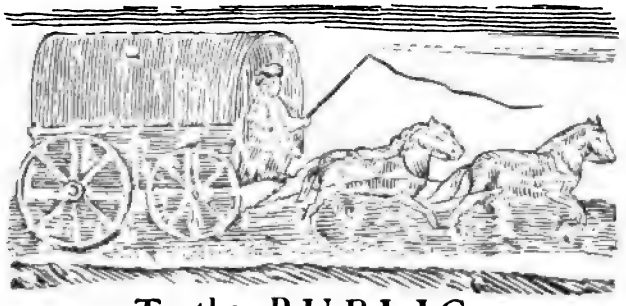
This constant drain of gold and silver out of the colonies naturally induced them to undertake the issue of paper money. Most of this proved utterly worthless. The English Board of Trade (§ 174) instructed the royal colonial Governors to veto the bills which the Legislatures enacted for the issue of this

irredeemable paper money, and the quarrels to which these vetoes gave rise were one cause leading to the Revolution.

178. Roads; travel; the post-office. — Owing to the very general lack of good roads the chief part of the transportation was, when practicable, by water. Large quantities of furs and freights of all kinds were carried in canoes on the rivers and lakes. New York in particular offered great facilities in this respect. Where rivers were not available for reaching the interior, pack-horses were employed. They carried the goods in long bags slung across their backs.

The roads were frequently simply Indian trails; in other cases there was no path at all, and the way through the trackless forests was indicated by "blazed" trees. Pennsylvania was one of the few colonies which had a number of fairly good roads; they radiated from Philadelphia. Thousands of huge wagons carried produce from the interior to that busy port, which had an export trade of more than £700,000 a year. Boston (1763) ranked next in this respect.

There was but little passenger travel — so little, in fact, that it was not very uncommon for a man to make his will when he ventured to go any distance from home. The usual mode of travel between the principal cities, such as Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston, was by sailing vessel. The time required for making such a journey was as uncertain as the wind. Not infrequently men preferred to go on horseback to avoid vexatious delays. If a wife went with her husband on one of these journeys, she usually rode behind him on a pillion. Toward the close of the colonial period, a line of rude stage-wagons was put on the route (1756) between Philadelphia and New York. They made trips once a week. Their average speed was usually rather less than three miles an hour; but as the roads were rough, and the wagons had no springs, the passengers probably seldom begged to go faster. Later (1766), some enterprising individual put a new "stage" on the route. He advertised it as the "Flying-Machine"; under



To the PUBLIC.

THE FLYING MACHINE, kept by John Mercereau, at the New-Blazing-Star-Ferry, near New-York, ſets off from Powles-Hook every Monday, Wedneſday, and Friday Mornings, for Philadelphia, and performs the Journey in a Day and a Half, for the Summer Seaſon, till the 1ſt of November; from that Time to go twice a Week till the firſt of May, when they again perform it three Times a Week. When the Stages go only twice a Week, they ſet off Mondays and Thurſdays. The Waggons in Philadelphia ſet out from the Sign of the George, in Second-ſtreet, the ſame Morning. The Paſſengers are deſired to croſs the Ferry the Evening before, as the Stages muſt ſet off early the next Morning. The Price for each Paſſenger is *Twenty Shillings*, Proc.* and Goods as uſual. Paſſengers going Part of the Way to pay in Proportion.

As the Proprietor has made ſuch Improvements upon the Machines, one of which is in Imitation of a Coach, he hopes to merit the Favour of the Publick.

JOHN MERCEREAU.

New York Gazette 1771.

FLYING MACHINE.

* "Proc.": Proclamation-money or lawful money according to the proclamation of Queen Anne in 1704.

favorable circumstances it flew at a speed of perhaps five miles an hour.[391]

The first post-office in the colonies was not established until 1710, or more than a century after the first settlement of Virginia. The mails were scanty. They were generally carried on horseback. The rates of postage for a single letter ranged, in modern currency, from eight to twenty-five cents, according to distance. When Benjamin Franklin was appointed Postmaster-General (1753) he startled the good people of Philadelphia by putting on a regular weekly mail between that city and Boston; there was no postal service between Boston and inland towns before the Revolution.

179. Religion; freedom of worship; the press. — In the South the Episcopal Church — the established Church of all the royal colonies — was the most influential; but numerically the Presbyterians were strong, and together with the Congregationalists were constantly growing stronger. In Pennsylvania the Quakers and the German Lutherans predominated. In the remaining Middle colonies Episcopacy was maintained by law, but other denominations were tolerated. Maryland had by far the greatest number of Catholics. Yet even there they did not constitute more than a small per cent of the population.

In Massachusetts Episcopacy was encouraged by the royal Governor, who attended the "King's Chapel" in Boston. The dread lest the Crown should appoint an Episcopal bishop may be considered as one of the causes which operated in Massachusetts to bring on the Revolution.[392] In Rhode Island the Baptists had become a controlling power. A few Methodists had settled in New York, but no preachers of that denomination arrived until several years later (1769). The following year (1770) a Universalist minister began to form two or three societies of that faith. Influences were at work in a number of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts which eventually developed into Unitarianism, first formally organized in Boston after the close of the Revolution (1785).

In Massachusetts the compulsory support of public Congregational worship was not abolished until many years later (1833).[393]

The only colony which openly tolerated entire freedom of worship by legislative enactment was Rhode Island. In Virginia, where all property-holders were taxed to support the established Episcopal Church, no other faith was legally recognized.[394]

In western Virginia there were many dissenters — mostly Presbyterians. They were permitted to organize and maintain churches of their own on condition that they made certain concessions to the established (Episcopal) Church.[395] Jefferson secured (1776) partial toleration, and eventually (1785) his influence obtained the passage of the famous act, granting entire religious freedom.

In all of the colonies, except Rhode Island, laws existed which forbade Catholics from holding public worship; but in Pennsylvania the law was not generally enforced, and as early as 1734 a Catholic church — the first outside of the original church of Maryland — was erected in Philadelphia.[396]

That art which has been truly said to be "preservative of all arts" was first introduced into the colonies by the establishment of a printing-press at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1639. The next press, outside of Massachusetts, was permanently set up at Philadelphia (1686), and the next at New York (1693). No printing could be done except by special license, although most of the restrictions were removed by 1755.

The first permanent newspaper established in the colonies was the "Boston News Letter," which made its appearance in 1704. It was printed weekly, and consisted of half a sheet of coarse, dingy paper, about the size of a child's pocket handkerchief. The first attempt made by any newspaper to discuss public affairs was when James Franklin (1723) criticised the action of the Massachusetts authorities in his "New England Courant." It was in certain respects the forerunner of the

poorest class of modern sensational dailies, differing from them mainly because its limited circulation greatly restricted its demoralizing and destructive power. Its publication was stopped by the authorities.

Peter Zenger, the publisher of the "New York Weekly Journal," first succeeded (1734) in establishing the right (§ 69) of a newspaper to censure acts of the Government. He thus laid the foundation for the absolute liberty of the press which was finally recognized after the Revolution.

180. Literature and education. — Up to 1763 very few American books of note had been published. Wealthy men imported the standard English authors, but in New England sermons by the Puritan ministers formed a large part of the solid reading in that section.

The most remarkable production in verse was the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom." It was a realistic description of the "Great and Last Judgment," and especially of the unutterable torments of lost souls. For a hundred years after its publication in Boston (1662), no other book commanded a sale equal to it. Peddlers hawked it from house to house, and little children learned it by heart along with their catechism. As late as the early part of the present century there were men and women living who had read and reread the lurid pages of this poem, by the flickering light of a New England fireside, until every line seemed to have been burnt into their memories, and they could repeat the whole of the two hundred and twenty-four verses word by word.[397]

In prose we have Cotton Mather's "Magnalia" (1702), a huge folio narrating the church history of New England; and later, Dummer's "Defence of the New England Charters" (1728), a vigorously written pamphlet which was followed by a multitude of others discussing and defending the rights of the colonists. The most noteworthy Southern contributions to American literature were Beverly's "History of Virginia" (1705), followed by Stith's history of the same colony (1747).

The two master writers of the period were Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards. Edwards was a Puritan minister of the strictest sort; Franklin was a man of the world, an independent thinker, who hired no one to guess for him about anything. In 1732, while editing the "Pennsylvania Gazette,"— a paper which he printed with his own hands, — he began the publication of an almanac, popularly known as "Poor Richard's Almanac."

He scattered through his almanac maxims which preached the gospel of thrift, self-help, and manly independence. These pithy sayings of "Poor Richard" had a wide influence. They were reprinted on sheets (1754) under the title of "The Way to Wealth," and framed and hung up in houses and shops. There can be no doubt that they did much towards shaping American life when, as an eminent English statesman said, it was "in the gristle and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood."

Later, Franklin wrote numerous political pamphlets and scientific papers; several of the former had a decided bearing on questions relating to the welfare of the colonies, the need of union and of self-defence.

Jonathan Edwards was a country minister settled in Northampton, and later in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. He was a man of deep religious convictions, of vigorous intellect, and of noble purpose.

His preaching expressed the same feeling as that which found utterance in the "Day of Doom." It was largely an appeal to fear, and it gave rise to that remarkable revival (1740) called the "Great Awakening." That movement shook New England like an earthquake, and made itself felt as far south as Virginia. It called into existence a great number of independent exhorters and preachers; they broke up many of the old parishes in Massachusetts and Connecticut into opposite factions known as the "Old Lights" and the "New Lights." This led to the formation of societies holding views

of their own. These new societies, in a number of cases, withdrew from the more rigid Puritan organization, and so, in the end, helped to bring about the separation of Church and State.[398]

Later (1754), Edwards published his great work on the "Freedom of the Will"; his object was to show that there is no true and permanent liberty save that which springs from right doing, and that the power to do right comes only from above. His book was destined to have a profound influence on that small number of thinkers whose thoughts influence the world.

By 1763 the common-school system of New England had been in existence for more than a century (§ 93), but even in Massachusetts such schools were not as a rule fully maintained by public taxation. The law which finally and fully established them on that basis was not passed until (1827) nearly fifty years after the country had gained its independence as a nation.

This system did not (1763) extend south of Connecticut; but numerous schools, however, existed in New Jersey and in New York, and Pennsylvania was noted for its "log colleges."

In Virginia and throughout the South there was no system of public instruction. Governor Berkeley, speaking of the "Old Dominion" (1671), said: "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."[399]

Yet Governor Berkeley was not an enemy to higher education, for he subscribed for the founding of "a college of students of the liberal arts and sciences." What he feared was a democratic system of free instruction, such as he believed would tend to undermine the authority of Church and King.

The wealthy planters not infrequently employed classical tutors for their eldest sons, — the heirs of their estates, — or sent them to the mother-country to be educated. Augustine

Washington sent his eldest son Lawrence to England for that purpose, but placed his younger son George in a little school kept by the sexton of the parish, where the lad was duly taught to read, write, and cipher. A large number of the "Poor Whites" never had an opportunity to acquire even these rudiments of learning. They got their education from things, not from books.

By 1763 six colleges had been established in the colonies. They were Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), the University of Pennsylvania (1753), and Columbia (1754); a seventh — Brown University — soon afterward came into existence (1764).

181. Science and art; discoveries and inventions. — In art we had two noted painters, Copley and West. The latter had been painting portraits in Philadelphia at five guineas a head, but went to Italy before the close of 1763. Copley was painting in Boston, and John Hancock and his friend Samuel Adams were soon to sit for their portraits, both of which now hang in the Boston Art Museum.

Copley was painting a picture in London when (1782) the news was received of the acknowledgment of American independence by Great Britain. "With a bold hand and a master's touch" the artist introduced a ship in the background, flying the "stars and stripes"; it was probably the first American flag that was hoisted in old England.

In the field of scientific discovery America had made her mark. Franklin was engaged in his famous experiments with electricity, and the leading scientists of France wrote to him: "We are all waiting with the greatest eagerness to hear from you."[400] They did not wait in vain, for Franklin, by the use of nothing more remarkable than a boy's kite, succeeded (1751) in establishing the fact that the electricity produced by friction and the lightning of the thunder-clouds are one and the same thing. That was the beginning of the wonderful development which, after the lapse of nearly a century, has since taken

place, and is now rapidly advancing. The lightning-rod was the first step in that practical knowledge of electricity which has since given us the telegraph and telephone, and which now provides the silent power which lights houses and streets, cooks food, photographs invisible objects, drives machinery, propels and heats cars, signals the approach of trains, rings fire-alarms, and threatens in time to drive steam entirely into the background.

Another name destined to take high rank in the history of science was that of Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford), then a boy at school in his native town of Woburn, Massachusetts. In his researches many years later he discovered that heat is a mode of motion, and he laid the foundation of the modern doctrine of the "correlation of forces." [401]

182. **Mode of life.** — Throughout the colonies the great mass of the people lived in the utmost simplicity. The farm-houses were generally built of logs, or of rough, unpainted clapboards. The cooking was done before huge open wood fires, or in large brick ovens. The food was generally coarse, but abundant. There were comparatively few vegetables, but plenty of apples and cider.

Salt pork was the meat most commonly eaten, but venison and other game were by no means rare. Corn in the form of hominy, mush, or hoe cake, and rye bread were more generally seen on the table than bread made of wheat.

Tallow candles, whale-oil lamps, and open wood fires gave light in the evening. Friction matches did not come into use until long after the Revolution, and the only way of kindling a fire was to strike a spark by a flint and steel, catch it on some tinder, and blow it to a blaze.

Men and women dressed chiefly in homespun, which the wives and daughters of the farmers manufactured in the long winter evenings with their spinning-wheels and hand-looms.

In New England Sunday was kept very strictly; every one was expected to attend church, and all travel or labor — except in cases of absolute necessity — was forbidden.

In all of the colonies law-breakers were summarily and sharply dealt with. Ordinary offenders were put in the stocks, exposed on the pillory, or publicly whipped, much to the edification of the bystanders. Serious crimes were punished by imprisonment or by the gallows, and hangings took place where all could witness them.

In and near the cities there were occasional fine mansions. Some of these, such as the "Longfellow House," in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the "Van Rensselaer Manor House" at Greenbush, New York, and the "Byrd House" at Westover, near Richmond, Virginia, are still standing, and are excellent examples of the higher class of colonial architecture.

The owners of these houses frequently lived in a good deal of style. They imported French wines and silver plate for their tables, and dressed in stately costumes of velvet and brocade, set off with ruffles, and wearing flowing wigs or powdered hair.

Social lines were more sharply drawn than at present. Broadly speaking, to-day, every inhabitant of the United States who is not a lady is a gentleman, but in colonial days these names were given, as a rule, only to persons holding some acknowledged and well-defined social position.

183. Indications of the coming Revolution. — Not long before the Revolution, a marked change took place in the reading habits of many of the people. Burke, in speaking of America in 1775, said: "In no country in the world is the law so general a study." Not only did the colonists import a large number of law-books, but they had begun to publish them. It is said that nearly as many copies of Blackstone's Commentaries were sold in America as in England.[402] Public affairs were discussed to such an extent that a noted Frenchman said of the Americans: "They are all politicians, down to the housemaids."[403]

This interest in public matters, joined to the study of law, was preparing the leaders of the colonists to take a decided

stand in defence of their rights. English statesmen expressed their admiration for the ability with which the Americans drew up their petitions for justice and their protests against oppression.

Notwithstanding the fact that the English Board of Trade had accused the Massachusetts colonists of having "a thirst for independence," yet the general feeling of all the colonies appears to have been loyal until a late date. In a sermon on the death of George II. (1760), the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew of Boston said that the people had regarded the late King as a "father" rather than a "sovereign," and that they hoped to sit "under the shadow of his successor with great delight."[404] The coronation of George III. was celebrated with all the pomp the colonists could muster. They felt that the glory of the mother-country was still their glory, and they rejoiced "publicly on every victory of the English arms."[405]

Franklin testified before the House of Commons that up to the passage of the Stamp Act (1765) the colonists "were led by a thread." They had, he said, "not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain." It was natural that it should be so, for a large proportion of the people were of direct English descent. The laws, the language, the literature, the religion of America were to a great extent those of England.

But if the bond which united us to the mother-country was strong, so too was the spirit of resistance to injustice. In the cordage of the British navy a scarlet fibre is twisted into every strand of rope to mark it; so throughout the colonies, interwoven with the universal feeling of loyalty, there was this distinct and unmistakable determination to insist on the same constitutional rights which were granted to Englishmen at home. When George III. positively refused to acknowledge those rights, when no petition however humble, and no protest however vehement could move him, then the American people deliberately took the final step. In this action all the colonies were united, for a majority in all "wanted the same Revolution."[406]

184. Importance of the colonial period. — The Revolution brought the colonial period to a close. To rightly estimate it we should remember that in the growth of a nation, as in the growth of a tree, the roots count as much as the top. Many events of the first importance originated in that period (1607–1776). 1. Then the English-speaking race got firm possession of the Atlantic coast, and extended their territory as far west as the Mississippi. 2. Then, too, many customs, laws, and institutions were established which must continue to have great influence on the welfare of the whole country. 3. The leading industries of America to-day were planted by the early settlers and their descendants.[407] 4. They, too, first recognized the great principle of complete religious toleration; they laid the foundation of our oldest colleges, and of the public-school system of the United States; and they established the liberty of the press. 5. In that period, too, the conception of national independence was born, and a committee was chosen to frame the first Constitution of the Republic. 6. Finally it was in that period that slavery spread itself through the Southern half of the Republic, and sowed the seeds of that gigantic war which in the end not only gave the country a "new birth of freedom," but led to the reconstruction of the Union on a basis far more solid and sure than it rested on before.

IV.

THE REVOLUTION, THE CONSTITUTION.

(1763-1789.)

For Authorities for this Chapter, see Appendix, page xxiv. *The small figures in the text refer to Authorities cited on page* xxx *of the Appendix.*

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185. The accession and policy of George III. — The accession of George III. (1760) produced a great change in political affairs both in England and in the colonies. The new sovereign was well-meaning, patriotic, and conscientious, but narrow-minded, obstinate, and subject to attacks of mental derangement. When he came to the throne he found the government in the hands of a few great Whig families. George was determined to be king in fact as well as in name. He resolved to break down the power of the old Whig Party, to raise up a body of men in Parliament, who as the "King's friends" would vote as he should direct, and to make his own arbitrary will supreme not only at home but throughout British America.[408]

That determination was vigorously resisted on both sides of the Atlantic. The struggle which ended triumphantly for the American patriots was in truth part of the same revolution which was fought in England by other patriots in the halls of Parliament.[409] In spirit Pitt and Burke were the allies of Adams and Washington.

186. The chief cause of the American Revolution; protest of the colonies against direct taxation. — We have seen (§§ 70, 102, 177, 183) that many causes contributed to bring on the American Revolution; but the immediate cause was the King's determination to impose a tax on the colonists without

their consent.[410] The declared object of that tax was to aid in maintaining a force of ten thousand British troops in America to prevent an insurrection of the conquered Canadian French, and to protect the colonists against the western Indians.[411]

Lord Grenville, the King's Prime Minister, held that the colonies were simply places of trade established for the benefit of Great Britain. Adam Smith, in the first edition of his celebrated work on political economy (1775), denounced this narrow view as "fit only for a nation of shopkeepers."[412] The colonists themselves, however, admitted the right of Great Britain to impose duties on their imports and to restrict their commerce and their manufactures; but at the same time they positively denied the right of the home government to demand contributions of money from them.[413]

As early as 1624 the Virginia Assembly declared: "The governor shall not lay any taxes . . . upon the colony . . . otherwise than by the authority of the General Assembly."[414] This, too, was the attitude of Massachusetts (1646)[415] and of Plymouth Colony (1671).[416]

It is true that the charter of Pennsylvania (1681) affirmed that Parliament might levy taxes on the people of that colony (§ 139); but Parliament never had attempted it, and the feeling was that no such exercise of power would ever be made.

In the reign of Queen Anne the New York Assembly (1710) took the same decided stand that Virginia had taken in the previous century. They voted that "the levying of any moneys upon Her Majesty's subjects of this colony, . . . without consent in General Assembly, is a grievance and a violation of the people's property."[417] This utterance of New York represented the general spirit of the American people when George III. came to the throne (1760).

187. Loyalty of the colonies; "Writs of Assistance"; the "Parsons' Case." — Yet the loyalty of the colonies was unquestionable (§ 183). Even Samuel Adams, that fiery apostle

of independence, declared as late as 1768 that nothing but unkind usage could sever the ties which bound America to England.[418]

The first decided symptom of a change of feeling occurred in 1761. That year the King empowered the custom-house officers of Boston and of other American ports to make use of "Writs of Assistance" — or general warrants — in searching for smuggled goods.[419] A few years later those writs were decided to be unconstitutional in England. As if in anticipation of that decision, James Otis (1761) protested against their use in the colonies. In the course of his flaming speech Otis vehemently denounced "the tyranny of taxation without representation."[420]

The next year (1762) Patrick Henry in his celebrated speech in the "Parsons' Case"[421] boldly denied the right of the King to set aside a law passed by the Virginia Assembly for the general good. These ringing utterances of Otis in the North and of Henry in the South showed that both sections of the country were equally determined to stand up for their rights.

188. The Stamp Act proposed; effect on the colonies; the act passes (1765). — Meanwhile Lord Grenville, the King's prime minister, was maturing a scheme for compelling the colonies to help bear the burden of maintaining a standing army of British soldiers in America. His plan was to impose a stamp tax similar to one which had been imposed in England. He assumed that Parliament, as the national council, really represented all sections of the British Empire, and therefore that it could rightfully levy such a tax on the colonies.[422] Under this proposed act stamps varying in value from a half-penny to ten pounds were to be affixed or impressed on all deeds, wills, policies of insurance, clearance papers for ships, on many other legal and business papers, and on periodical publications and advertisements.[423] Such a law would execute itself. It would make it impossible for the colonists to export produce, transfer property, collect debts through the courts, or even purchase a newspaper or an almanac without paying this tax.

In a conversation with Franklin and other colonial agents then in London, Grenville said that he could think of no better way of raising the money needed by the British Government. "If," said he, "you can tell of a better, I will adopt it." Franklin suggested that it might be well to ask the colonies to raise the sum needed, but admitted that he thought it very doubtful whether the colonial assemblies would agree what proportion each should contribute.[424]

Grenville gave the colonies a year to consider the matter; then he called on Parliament to act. Burke raised his voice against the measure. He said that it began to look as though the British Government regarded the colonists as pack-horses made to bear the burdens first of unlimited commercial monopoly, and next of unlimited taxation.[425] Pitt declared later that it was a scheme to take the colonists' "money out of their pockets without their consent." [426]

The news of the proposed law roused the Americans to fierce indignation. Otis denounced it at a Boston town-meeting; and the Assembly of New York protested that if taxes should be wrung from them against their will, "life itself would become intolerable." [427] But despite all efforts the measure passed in 1765.[428]

189. Patrick Henry's resolutions; the Stamp-Act Congress. — Virginia was the first to resent the action of Parliament. Patrick Henry introduced (1765) a series of remarkable resolutions in the Assembly, in which he declared that no power outside the people of the colony had any right to impose taxes on them. The Assembly adopted and recorded the greater part of these resolutions.[429]

Before the news of Virginia's defiant action reached the North, Massachusetts proposed a Stamp-Act Congress. In October (1765) delegates from nine colonies met in New York.[430] The congress drew up a "Declaration of Rights." That declaration showed how fast public opinion was moving. It did not demand (as Otis had) representation in Parliament;

The TIMES are Dreadful. Dismal Doleful Dolorous, and DOLLAR-LESS.

Adieu to the LIBERTY of the PRESS

Thursday, *October* 31, 1765 THE NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIFE again.

I AM sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The STAMP-ACT, is fear'd to be obligatory upon us after the *First of November* ensuing, (the *fatal To-morrow*) the Publisher of this Paper unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient TO STOP a while, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and escape the insupportable Slavery; which it is hoped, from the last Representations now made against that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I must earnestly Request every Individual of my Subscribers many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Discharge their respective Arrears that I may be able, not only to support myself during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpose appears, which I hope will be soon

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

HEAD OF PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE ON STAMP ACT.

on the contrary, it affirmed "That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain, . . . and that no taxes ever have been, or ever can be, constitutionally imposed on them except by their respective legislatures."[431]

190. The "boycott"; the "Sons of Liberty"; Pitt; repeal of the act. — Meanwhile the leading merchants of the country proceeded to "boycott" Great Britain by pledging themselves to stop importing English goods until the obnoxious act should be repealed. The "Sons of Liberty" in New York and elsewhere took decided action. They seized stocks of stamps and burned them, destroyed stamp offices, and forced stamp officers to resign.

When the news of the reception of the Stamp Act reached England, Pitt rose from his sick bed to defend the colonists in Parliament. "I rejoice," said he, "that America has resisted."[432]

The prime minister thought it would be inexpedient to attempt to force the people to purchase the hated stamps, and the British merchants and manufacturers, fearing that they would lose the American market for their goods, besought Parliament to repeal the act. This was done (1766) amid great rejoicings in London. But the "King's friends" (§ 185) accompanied the repeal by the passage of a "Declaratory Act," which expressly affirmed the right of Parliament "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever."[433] In America the exultation of the people over their apparent victory prevented their heeding the ominous words of this declaration.

191. The Townshend Law and its effects. — The next year (1767) Charles Townshend induced Parliament to impose a duty on American imports of paints, paper, glass, and tea.[434]

The colonists generally, except Otis, had conceded the right of the English Government to impose such duties, but now John Dickinson of Pennsylvania rose to remonstrate. He attacked the Townshend Law in a masterful series of twelve papers entitled, "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania."[435] At the

same time the Massachusetts Assembly, pushed on by Samuel Adams and by Otis, urged the other colonies to employ all lawful means to resist the collection of the proposed duties.[436]

Under the lead of George Washington the planters of Virginia resolved to refuse to import goods from Great Britain until the Townshend Act should be repealed. The merchants of New York, Boston, and other cities took similar action. The result was that all of the Townshend Law was repealed (1770), except the clause levying a trifling duty on tea.[437]

192. The "Boston Massacre"; Governor Tryon; the destruction of the Gaspee. — Meanwhile several regiments of British troops had arrived in Boston. In spite of the protests of the citizens this standing army was quartered in the town itself. The people believed that the presence of such a force was an open violation of their constitutional rights as English subjects. The excited state of feeling then existing made collisions between the troops and the citizens inevitable. A mob assailed (1770) a squad of soldiers in the streets, pelted them with chunks of ice and other missiles, and dared the "lobster backs" to fire. Finally, either in retaliation or in self-defence, the "red coats" did fire, killing and wounding several persons.[438] This affair led to the removal of the troops from the town to an island in the harbor.

The next year (1771) the exactions of Governor Tryon of North Carolina provoked an insurrection. The battle of Alamance followed (§ 137), and the governor hanged a number of prisoners of war that he had captured. These men had taken up arms to resist unjust taxation, and their memories were cherished as those of martyrs to liberty.

The following year (1772) the British revenue cutter "Gaspee," while chasing a Providence vessel, ran ashore on the coast of Rhode Island. The commander of the "Gaspee," in his search for smugglers, had shown a zeal which "outran both discretion and law." The Rhode Islanders now revenged themselves for his acts of violence by burning the cutter. The

British government ordered the chief-justice of the colony to send the offenders to England for trial, but he refused to obey.

193. Committees of Correspondence formed. — In order to render the governors and judges of the royal colonies independent of the popular will and dependent on the Crown, the King now resolved to pay those officers (at least in Massachusetts) out of the English treasury.

Samuel Adams took alarm at this act, which he believed tended to convert the government of the province into a "despotism." At a town-meeting held in Faneuil Hall (1772) he moved the appointment of a "Committee of Correspondence" to state "the rights of the colonists" "to the several towns and to the world."[439] The motion passed; the statement was sent forth, and soon every town in Massachusetts had appointed a similar committee. In future it would make little real difference whether the Governor permitted the colonial assembly to meet or not, since the Committees of Correspondence would always be vigilant in the interests of liberty.

But the influence of these organizations was not confined to Massachusetts, for the next spring (1773) Dabney Carr, Patrick Henry, and other leading men in Virginia established the "Intercolonial Committee of Correspondence." That organization "laid the foundation of the Union."

194. Attempt to enforce the tea tax; the Boston "Tea Party." — Meanwhile the British East India Company, unable to find a market for its teas, begged Parliament to permit them to make exports free of duty to America. The King, however, refused; he said: "there must always be one tax to keep up the right, and as such I approve of the tea duty."[440]

The actual duty on the tea was trifling — only threepence a pound. But the Americans regarded the measure as a cunning device for establishing a precedent whereby money could be extorted from them for the support of a standing army in the colonies. They therefore resolved not to purchase a pound of the taxed tea. The citizens of Philadelphia, New York, Boston,

and Charleston took measures to prevent the landing or sale of the "pernicious herb."

The first tea ships arrived at Boston in the autumn of 1773. The people assembled in town-meeting, and urged Governor Hutchinson to order the immediate return of the ships with their cargoes. The Governor, as an officer of the Crown, refused to take such action.

A mass-meeting was held in the Old South Meeting-House to consider what final decision should be taken. In the evening a message was received from the Governor declining to permit any of the tea ships to go back until they were unloaded. Samuel Adams then rose and said: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." His words served as a signal for immediate action. A war-whoop was heard, and a party of citizens disguised as Indians, and armed with hatchets, rushed down to the wharf, boarded the ships, and breaking open the chests of tea emptied their contents into the harbor. The next morning a shining bank of tea-leaves cast up by the tide on the south shore showed how thoroughly the "Mohawks" had done their work.

195. The "four intolerable acts." — The news of the destruction of the tea created a profound sensation in England. The King and Parliament both resolved on inflicting summary punishment on the rebellious city. Four penal acts were now passed (1774) in rapid succession. First, the "Boston Port Act" removed the seat of government to Salem, and closed the chief port of Massachusetts to all commerce until the citizens should pay for the tea and declare themselves entirely submissive to the King.[441]

Secondly, the "Regulating Act" altered the charter of Massachusetts so as to deprive the people of a large measure of their political rights. Furthermore, it prohibited the citizens from holding town-meetings for the discussion of public affairs.[442]

Thirdly, the "Administration of Justice Act" provided that all persons who should be accused of committing murder (as in the case of the "Boston Massacre") in maintenance of the

cause of King and Parliament, should be tried in England or Nova Scotia — where, of course, every influence would operate in favor of their acquittal.[443]

Fourthly, the "Quebec Act" extended the boundaries of the Canadian province of Quebec so as to embrace the territory northwest of the Ohio (excepting only such portion as the colonies could prove they held under royal grants), and virtually established the Roman Catholic Church in that vast province. The debates in Parliament show that the object of this act was to secure the allegiance of the French Catholics in Canada in the approaching war, and to exclude the offending English colonists from making settlements in the West.[444]

The King now temporarily removed Governor Hutchinson (May, 1774), and appointed General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces on the American continent, Governor of Massachusetts.

196. Unity of the colonies; the First Continental Congress (1774). — When the news of the passage of the Port Act reached Boston, Massachusetts sent an appeal for sympathy and help to all of her sister colonies. Paul Revere, mounted on a swift horse, started to carry this appeal to New York, but before he arrived there a committee of the "Sons of Liberty," composed mainly of the mechanics and workingmen of that city, had recommended the calling of a general or continental congress.[445] South Carolina expressed the feeling of the patriots of all the colonies when she said: "The whole country must be animated with one great soul, and all Americans must resolve to stand by one another, even unto death."[446]

The first American or Continental Congress met in the Carpenters' Hall at Philadelphia in the autumn of 1774.[447] It was composed of fifty-five delegates, representing all the colonies except Georgia,[448] where the Tory Governor contrived to block the way.[449]

The congress, while cheerfully acknowledging His Majesty George the Third to be their "rightful sovereign," adopted (October 14, 1774) a "Declaration of Colonial Rights."[450]

This declaration admitted the authority of Parliament to enact measures for the regulation of trade for the mutual advantage of the mother-country and of the colonies, but it affirmed (1) that the colonial legislatures alone had the right to make all laws and levy all taxes;[451] (2) that the colonists were entitled to the common law of England, and especially to the inestimable privilege of trial by jury, and that they had the right to hold public meetings for the consideration of grievances and to petition the King; (3) they protested against the keeping of a standing army in the colonies without their consent; (4) finally, they condemned eleven acts of Parliament, including the tax on tea and the "four intolerable acts," and declared that Americans would never submit to them.

The congress, in its "olive-branch petition," humbly besought the King "as the loving father" of his "whole people" to relieve their wrongs.[452] But before sending that petition Congress signed the articles of an "American Association." Those articles pledged the colonies they represented not to import British goods, and not to export any merchandise or products of the colonies to Great Britain unless their wrongs should be redressed.[453]

In the action of the American people thus far we may trace three progressive steps: (1) Otis's claim (1761): No direct taxation without representation in Parliament (§ 187); (2) Declaration of the Stamp-Act Congress (1765): No direct taxation except by the colonial assemblies (§ 189); (3) Declaration of the First Continental Congress (1774): No legislation whatever (save in regard to trade and commerce for mutual advantage) except by the colonial assemblies (§ 196).

197. Parliament retaliates; action of Massachusetts; General Gage's expedition. — When Parliament met (1775), Lord Chatham urged that body to repeal the "four intolerable acts." He said: "You will repeal them, I stake my reputation on it, that you will in the end repeal them."[454] He was right; but the repeal came too late. Meanwhile in retaliation

for the adoption by Congress of the articles of the "American Association," Parliament passed a bill by which all the colonies that had agreed to the articles were summarily cut off from foreign trade and prohibited from taking any part in the fisheries of Newfoundland. Thus at one blow the chief industry of New England and the most important commerce not only of New England but of the other offending colonies were paralyzed.[486]

While the First Continental Congress was sitting, Governor Gage suspended the Assembly of Massachusetts. That body at once resolved itself into a provincial congress, adjourned to Concord (1774), and there organized, choosing John Hancock for president. This provincial congress appointed a committee of safety to provide for the defence of the colony.[486] It furthermore authorized the enrollment of 12,000 "minute men," who were to hold themselves ready to meet any emergency. The other colonies organized similar provincial congresses or conventions, and prepared to maintain their rights by force of arms if necessary.[487]

Patrick Henry urged the Virginia convention to prepare for the inevitable conflict: "We must fight!" said he; "I repeat it, sir, we must fight!" Virginia heeded the advice, and at once began to arm. General Gage attempted to seize some cannon at Salem, but failed. Hearing that the Massachusetts Committee of Safety had collected cannon and military stores at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, he sent out a secret expedition of eight hundred troops to destroy them. The commander was ordered to stop at Lexington on his way to Concord and seize those "arch-rebels," Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who were suspected of being in the village — as in fact they were.

198. British expedition to Lexington and Concord; beginning of the siege of Boston. — Paul Revere, mounting a fleet horse, rode to Lexington in advance of the British, rousing the country as he passed with his "midnight cry," "The regulars are coming!" Adams and Hancock, warned in time, escaped

across the fields. Meanwhile Captain John Parker of Lexington gathered a company of sixty or seventy men on the village green, ready to meet the British. "Don't fire first," said he, "but if they want a war let it begin here."[458]

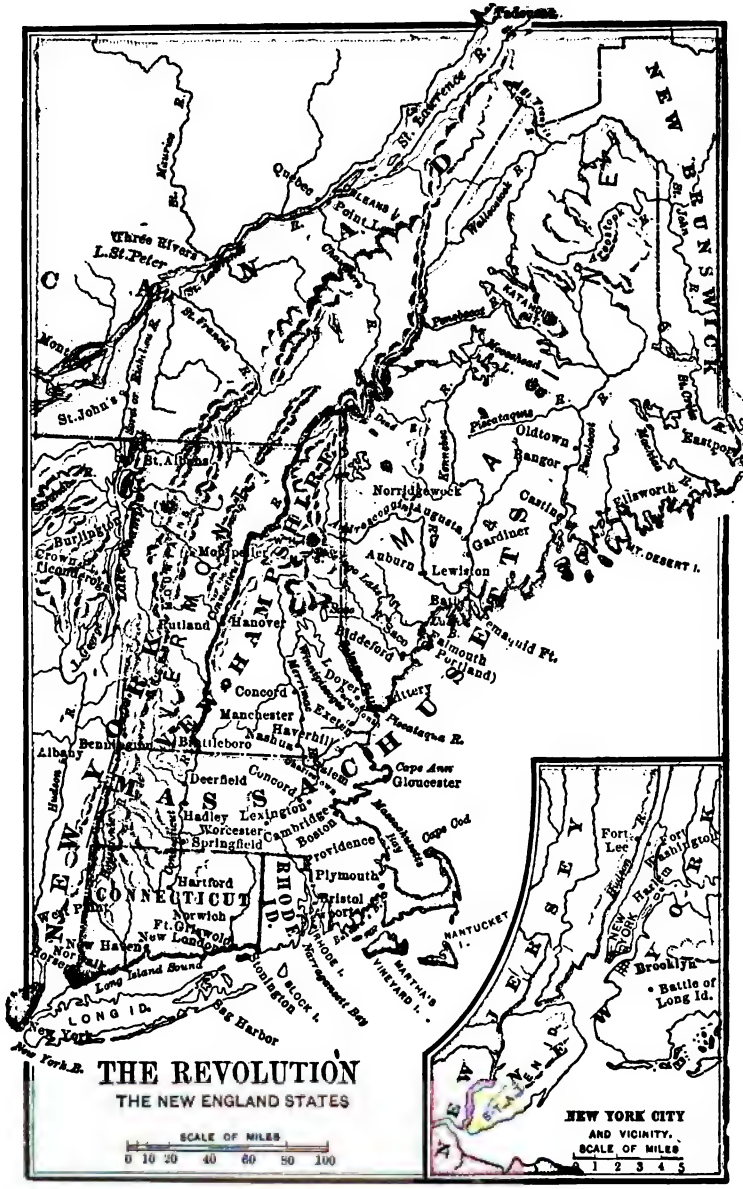
Just before daybreak (April 19, 1775) the regulars appeared. "Disperse, ye rebels," shouted Pitcairn, the British commander; the Americans did not move; they were "too few to resist, too brave to fly." "Fire!" cried Pitcairn. Seven patriots fell. Then Parker ordered his men to leave the field; as they did so they fired a few scattering shots at the enemy.

Proceeding to Concord the regulars destroyed such military stores as they could find.[459] At Concord Bridge the patriots met the British; a fight ensued, and several fell on each side. It was the opening battle of the Revolution.

Then the British began the return march to Boston; the enraged farmers pursued them, firing from behind every bush, fence, and tree. An English officer says that the British fled before the Americans like sheep.[460] At Lexington the flying regulars were reinforced by a thousand fresh troops sent out by Gage. By the time they reached Charlestown they had lost nearly three hundred of their number.

All the following night "minute men" were pouring into Cambridge. Every New England colony speedily began to raise and send men under such leaders as Putnam, Stark, Arnold, and Greene; in all, an army of about sixteen thousand was gathered.[461] They surrounded Boston on the land side, and General Gage, with his force of less than four thousand troops, found himself effectually "bottled up."

199. Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; meeting of the Second Continental Congress (1775). — In order to get a supply of arms and powder an expedition was sent to capture Fort Ticonderoga, which controlled the water-way between New York and Canada. This expedition, led by Ethan Allen, was made up of "Green Mountain Boys" with some volunteers from Connecticut and western Massachusetts.


THE REVOLUTION
THE NEW ENGLAND STATES
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
NEW YORK CITY
AND VICINITY.
SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3 4 5
Falmouth
Quebec
St. Lawrence R.
Three Rivers
L. St. Peter
Point Levi
Chaudiere R.
Montreal
St. John's
St. Francis R.
Richelieu R.
Lake Champlain
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
Fort Edward
Albany
Hudson R.
Mohawk R.
Schenectady
Saratoga
Bennington
Brattleboro
Burlington
Rutland
Hanover
Montpelier
Connecticut R.
Concord
Manchester
Haverhill
Nashua
Exeter
Dover
Portsmouth
Piscataqua R.
Kittery
Deerfield
Concord
Hadley
Lexington
Worcester
Springfield
Cambridge
Boston
Salem
Gloucester
Cape Ann
Cape Cod
Providence
Plymouth
Bristol
Newport
Hartford
Norwich
Ft. Griswold
New London
New Haven
Stonington
Block I.
Narragansett Bay
Rhode I.
Martha's Vineyard I.
Nantucket I.
Long Island Sound
Sag Harbor
LONG I.
New York
New York B.
Norridgewock
Kennebec R.
Androscoggin R.
Augusta
Gardiner
Hallowell
Kennebec
Pleasant R.
Oldtown
Bangor
Penobscot R.
Castine
Ellsworth
Mt. Desert I.
Machias R.
Eastport
St. Croix R.
Passamaquoddy B.
Auburn
Lewiston
Androscoggin R.
Saco R.
Saco
Biddeford
Falmouth (Portland)
Fort Sumner
Fort Gorges
Merrimack R.
Piscataqua R.
Connecticut R.
Merrimack R.
Charles R.
Mystic R.
Taunton R.
Housatonic R.
Thames R.
Pawcatuck R.
Passaic R.
Hackensack R.
Newark B.
Newark
Elizabeth
Staten I.
Perth Amboy
Raritan B.
Sandy Hook
Fort Lee
Fort Washington
Harlem R.
East R.
Hackensack
New York
Brooklyn
Battle of Long Id.
Sandy Hook
Raritan B.
Perth Amboy
Staten I.
Elizabeth
Newark
Newark B.
Hackensack R.
Passaic R.
Harlem R.
East R.
New York
Brooklyn
Fort Lee
Fort Washington
Hackensack
Battle of Long Id.

At sunrise (May 10, 1775) Allen surprised the sentinel at one of the gates of the fort, and rushed in just as the commander was getting out of bed. He ordered the astonished officer to surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The exultant patriots captured a large number of cannon and small arms and a quantity of ammunition. The next day Seth Warner of Bennington, who had accompanied Allen, took the British works at Crown Point.

A few hours after we had obtained possession of Ticonderoga, the Continental Congress — John Hancock, president — met (May 10, 1775) in the old State House at Philadelphia. This second congress remained, in name at least, in perpetual session until it was succeeded by the Congress of the Confederation nearly six years later (March, 1781).

200. Gage's proclamation; Washington made commander-in-chief. — Gage was now (May 25, 1775) reinforced by troops brought to Boston by Generals Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe. With ten thousand regulars under his command he felt himself able to take a more decided stand. He issued a proclamation (June 12, 1775) threatening to hang as rebels and traitors all who continued to resist His Majesty's Government. He closed by offering pardon to those who should forthwith "lay down their arms . . . excepting only . . . Samuel Adams and John Hancock." [462]

A few days later (June 15, 1775) Congress chose George Washington to be commander-in-chief of "all the Continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty." [463] History attests the wisdom of that choice: "No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life."

201. The opposing armies in the Revolution. — According to the official report of General Knox the whole number of men in the Continental Army during the eight years of the war (1775–1783) was about 252,000, and the whole number of militia about 192,000.[464] This would make the total enlistments

for the war nearly 444,000, drawn from a white population which in 1775 did not exceed 2,500,000.

The average yearly strength of the Continental Army was 31,500 men, but oftentimes this strength was on paper only, and the actual number present for duty was frequently not more than about 15,000, while shortly after Washington's retreat across the Delaware his force shrank to less than 3,000.[465] The militia force was subject to great and sudden fluctuations, which make trustworthy estimates well-nigh impossible.

The enlistments in the Continental Army were for terms often not exceeding a few months, and seldom, if ever, for more than three years. Congress, owing to its own mismanagement, found it impossible to get recruits for the entire war. The difficulty of feeding, clothing, arming, and paying the men greatly aggravated this evil. Furthermore, sickness thinned the ranks, and in the "dark days of the Revolution" hardships and privations drove so many to leave the army that Washington wrote (June, 1777): "Our numbers diminish more by desertion than they increase by enlistments."[466] But if in the long contest many fainted and fell by the wayside, others fought nobly to the end, and in hunger, cold, poverty, and the pangs of death proved themselves unflinchingly true to their country, their leader, and their flag.

A large number of European officers offered their services to Congress. Out of twenty-nine major-generals in the revolutionary army more than one-third were foreigners.[467] A good many of these men did excellent service, but there were some "black sheep" among them, like Conway and Charles Lee.

The most noted engineer among the first foreign volunteers was Kosciusko, a Polish military officer (1776). He planned the greater part of the fortifications at West Point. Duportail, who came later (1777), constructed the siege works at Yorktown. Count Pulaski, a countryman of Kosciusko's, fought bravely under Washington, and gave his life for the Republic at the siege of Savannah (1779).

The two best-known foreign officers in the American Army were Lafayette and Steuben. Lafayette, accompanied by De Kalb, came (1777) when he was but nineteen. He not only served without pay, but spent considerable sums of his own money in clothing and providing for the men who fought under him. Baron Steuben was noted as a drill-master. He drilled the half-fed, half-clothed patriots of the Continental Army with German thoroughness until they fought with the coolness and efficiency of European veterans.

The total number of the British Army cannot be very accurately determined, but it probably seldom exceeded 35,000 men. Less than half of them were English subjects. The war in the outset was unpopular in England, and George III. was reduced "to the military necessity" of hiring German troops from the Prince of Hesse-Cassel and other petty German States. These men had no choice in the matter; they simply obeyed orders, and went to America to shoot and to be shot at because their masters at home got so much a head for them.

202. The American navy and privateers. — Before the close of 1776 Congress had launched a navy of thirteen small, but effective, vessels, which were under the command of "Admiral" Esek Hopkins of Rhode Island. This little navy did excellent service, and captured a large number of English merchantmen, thereby obtaining much-needed military supplies for the army. But in two years eight of our men-of-war had been taken by the enemy, and by 1781 all of the remaining vessels had been captured or destroyed. Meanwhile Congress had authorized privateering, and the Atlantic soon swarmed with small vessels fitted out in New England and the Middle States. The number of Americans engaged in this warfare on the sea probably outnumbered the entire Continental Army. In the course of a single year (1776) they took nearly three hundred and fifty English vessels, worth, with their cargoes, at least $5,000,000, and a complete record of prizes captured would show a total amounting in value to many millions more.

203. The Loyalists, or Tories. — Before the outbreak of the Revolution, all or very nearly all of the colonists were loyal to the King. The agitation of the Stamp Act caused a certain amount of division, but even those who were most determined in their resistance to that act did not think for a moment of renouncing their allegiance to the Crown.

Later, after many of the colonists had decided to take up arms in defence of their rights, they still declared themselves subjects of the King; but after independence was declared, a sharp and decided separation necessarily took place between the patriots, or Whigs, who supported that declaration, and the Loyalists, or Tories, who opposed it.

It is impossible to say with accuracy what proportion of the people ranged themselves openly or secretly on the Tory side. The Loyalists themselves claimed that they were in the majority, and that the war was carried through by a small but energetic minority who had got the control. John Adams believed that at least one-third of the population of the colonies were Tories.[468]

A considerable percentage of them were men of property and high social standing. Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts was a good representative of this class. These men were thoroughly patriotic, but they clung to union with the mother-country, while the patriotism of the Whigs centered in the American Republic. One class was as sincere and as earnest as the other.

The largest number of Tories was to be found perhaps in the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Virginia and New England were the strongholds of the Whigs.

In the Carolinas the parties were so evenly divided that it gave the Revolution there many of the most cruel characteristics of a civil war, in which each party bent all its energies to the destruction of the other. In Georgia the Tories were so strong that they were planning to detach that colony from the

general movement of the Revolution, and might perhaps have succeeded if Cornwallis had not been defeated at Yorktown.[469]

At the North the Loyalists were often very roughly handled by excited "Sons of Liberty," who thought that tar and feathers fitted them better than anything else. The State authorities (1776) banished the more obstinate Tories and confiscated their property — in some cases threatening them with imprisonment or death if they returned. Several thousand of the extreme Tories enlisted on the British side. With their Indian allies they ravaged parts of New York and Pennsylvania.

Eventually great numbers of Loyalists, probably more than a hundred thousand in all, were forced to leave the United States. Those going from the North generally took refuge in Nova Scotia and Canada, while those who left the Southern States settled in the Bahamas and West Indies. In many cases they left valuable estates; and men of wealth and high social standing fled with their families with nothing to depend upon but British army rations and the hope of receiving aid from the King or Parliament. After the declaration of peace Parliament voted them an indemnity of a number of millions of pounds, and endeavored, but without success, to induce the United States to restore their confiscated estates.

204. Finances of the Revolution. — The total amount of hard money in the colonies at the beginning of the Revolution has been roughly estimated at $6,000,000.[470] The average annual expenses of the war were about $20,000,000, hence the specie on hand, could the whole of it have been used, would not have met the demands for more than a few months.

The country looked to Congress for help; but Congress had neither money nor credit — for what foreign government or foreign capitalist would loan anything to thirteen rebellious States? Congress might indeed have levied a tax on the colonies, but did not dare take that step for fear of insurrection. In this dilemma it determined to call the printing-press to its aid, and strike off a few millions of paper money.

It began (1775) with a modest issue of $2,000,000; this was quickly used up, and the cry came for more. More followed, until finally the bills known as Continental currency were issued by the wagon-load. Long before the close of the war the total amount so issued had reached over $240,000,000. There it stopped, for the single reason that Congress found it was useless to print any more worthless promises to pay.

By the beginning of 1777 many people refused to take the Continental currency on a par with silver. Congress resolved that they should take it, and declared all who declined to do so "enemies" of the United States.[471] The result was that merchants who refused to sell their goods for paper money sometimes had part of their stock seized or their shops shut up.[472] A still more heroic method of treatment was adopted when Congress empowered Washington to arrest and imprison those business men, who were regarded as foes to our public credit.[473]

Congress next tried the experiment of endeavoring to fix the prices at which all provisions must be sold, and also to decide what wages in Continental money should be paid for a day's work. This proved a failure, and so did the scheme of calling on the States for "requisitions," or money to carry on the war. Finally, in order to get food for the army, Washington was authorized to seize supplies of beef, pork, flour, and other necessaries, and to give the owners a receipt of seizure, which would be a claim for payment.[474] This plan created so much friction that it had to be given up like the others.

Fortunately, Burgoyne's surrender gave us a certain standing in Europe, and we obtained loans and gifts, chiefly from France, amounting in the aggregate to about $12,000,000.[475] Then again our little navy and our numerous privateers captured some large supplies of military clothing and arms from English transports. The French army and navy stationed at Newport paid for all the supplies they purchased here in hard money; this made it possible for Robert Morris to borrow specie in aid of our army.[476]

By the spring of 1780 a government paper dollar would pass for only two or three cents. Creditors fled when they saw debtors coming prepared to pay up old scores with bundles of Continental bills,[477] and even Washington, who made it a duty to cheerfully take the paper money for debts contracted during the period of depression, wrote that he would not take the stuff in settlement of contracts made before the war.[478]

A little later the bills ceased to circulate at all. Henceforward, no one would touch them, and when a man wished to express his utter contempt for a thing he said emphatically: "It's not worth a Continental!"

205. The battle of Bunker Hill (1775). — While Congress was engaged in preparing for war, General Gage resolved to seize the heights of Bunker Hill, in Charlestown, overlooking Boston.

But before Gage got ready to move, Colonel William Prescott, with a force of about twelve hundred men — later increased to fifteen hundred — was on his way to the hill. The Americans worked all night, and when the sun rose on the seventeenth of June (1775), Gage was astonished to see Colonel Prescott leisurely walking on the bank of earth which his men had thrown up on the crest of the hill.

"Will he fight?" asked Gage, of a man who knew Prescott well. "He will fight," was the answer, "as long as a drop of blood remains in his veins." "Then," said the British commander, "the works must be carried."

In the afternoon Howe, with about three thousand veteran troops, led the attack. The day was intensely hot, and the British had to charge up a steep slope covered with tall grass, and divided into fields by stone walls and fences.

Powder was scarce with the Americans, and their officers ordered them not to waste it. "Don't one of you fire," said Putnam, "until you see the white of their eyes."[479] The men obeyed orders, and when they did fire it was with terrible effect. The British fell back, rallied, made a second attack, and were again repulsed.

After a long delay Howe made a third assault up the fatal hill. This time he succeeded. Firing their last round of ammunition, but still fighting desperately with the butt-ends of their muskets, Prescott's little army slowly retreated.

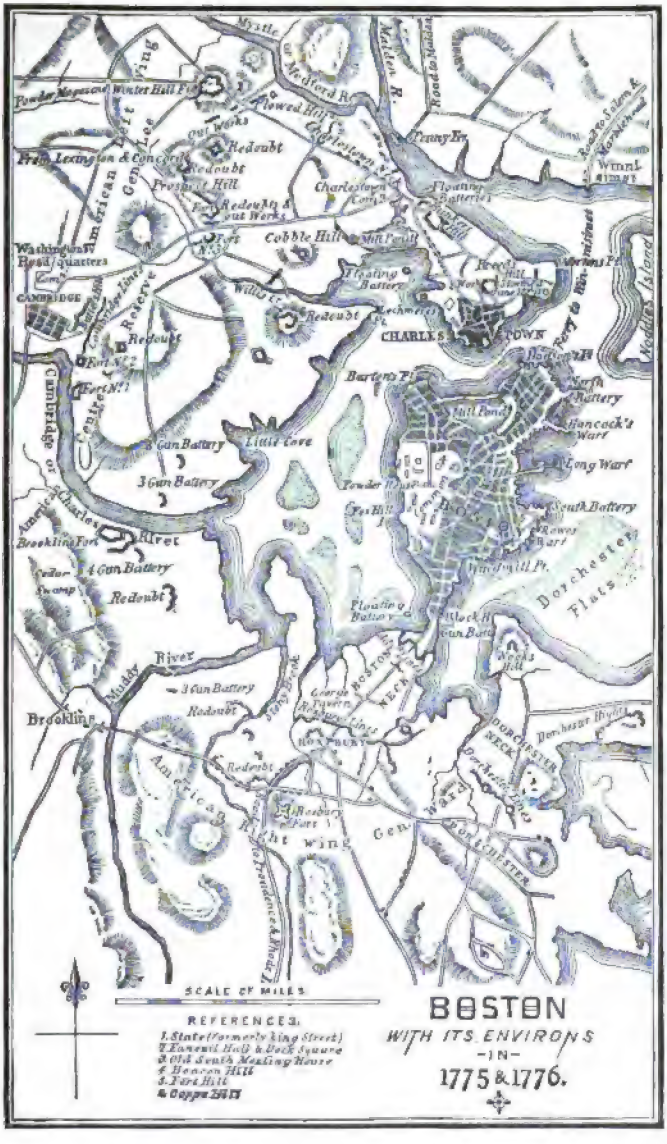
They were driven from their works, not because they had been defeated, but because they no longer had powder and ball to keep up the battle. It was a costly success for the British, since in an hour and a half they had lost more than a thousand men ; our loss was likewise very heavy, and among those who fell was the lamented Warren.

The King, disappointed with Gage's management of the war, recalled him and made General Howe commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. Howe was a brave officer, but he was half-hearted in the contest. He hoped to negotiate a peace, and reunite the mother-country and the colonies more firmly than ever.[480]

206. Washington takes command of the Continental Army; action of Congress; expedition against Canada. — Washington reached Cambridge early in July (1775), and at once took command of the Continental Army. On New Year's Day, 1776, he raised the flag of the united colonies, — it consisted of the British flag with thirteen stripes added, one for each colony.[481]

Meanwhile Congress had put forth a declaration of the causes of the war (July 6, 1775), but expressly added: "We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states."[482]

While in camp at Cambridge Washington learned that Carleton, the commander of the British force in Canada, was planning a descent into New York, where he hoped to get the help of the Tories or Loyalists (§ 203), and of the "Six Nations" (§ 136). To offset that movement General Schuyler, aided by General Montgomery, was ordered to make an attack on Montreal. The expedition started in the autumn (1775) from Fort Ticonderoga, but Schuyler fell sick, and the command devolved on Montgomery. He descended Lake Champlain, took Fort Chambly,



NOTE. — The memorable battle of the 17th of June, 1775, began in Charlestown on the height marked "Breed's Hill"; but at the time of the battle the entire ridge beginning at Charlestown Neck and extending to the seaward end of the peninsula appears to have been known under the general name of "Bunker's Hill." See Winsor's "America," VI. 135, and Frothingham's "Life of Warren," p. 507.

St. John, and Montreal. He captured a large quantity of ammunition, part of which he sent to Cambridge, much to the delight of Putnam, whose constant cry had been: "Ye gods, give us powder!"

Meanwhile Benedict Arnold had been sent (1775) with a small force from Massachusetts to cross the pathless wilderness of Maine to join Montgomery, and make a combined attack on Quebec. Before Arnold reached Canada he had lost more than a third of his men from sickness, exhaustion, and desertion. At length, after eight weeks of hardship and suffering, the brave commander with his sadly diminished little army came in sight of Quebec. There was snow on the ground, and the weather was bitterly cold. His men were half-naked, starving, and barefooted, for their clothes had been torn off by the thorn-bushes, and in the agonies of hunger they had devoured even their moccasins.[483]

On the last day of 1775 Montgomery and Arnold attempted with their feeble forces to storm "the strongest city in America." Montgomery was killed at the head of his troops, and Arnold was severely wounded; but unfortunately for himself and for his country, his wound did not prove fatal; had it done so his memory would have been revered as that of a valiant soldier and true patriot. The assault on Quebec proved a failure. In the following summer our men were driven out of Canada, and forced to retreat to Crown Point.

207. Washington drives the British out of Boston (1776); attack on the Carolinas. — Meanwhile General Knox had dragged, by the aid of ox-teams and sleds, more than forty cannon all the way from Ticonderoga to Cambridge. Now that Washington had both powder and heavy guns, he was determined to force Howe to give up Boston or fight.

Early in March (1776) the American commander, by a sudden night movement, seized Dorchester Heights (now South Boston), overlooking Boston on the south. Rufus Putnam erected the works and got the cannon in position. Washington

now held both the British army and the British fleet at his mercy. As Howe did not care "to pay a Bunker Hill price" for Dorchester Heights, he decided to give up the town. On March 17th (1776) the British sailed for Halifax, taking with them more than a thousand Tories.[484]

Washington entered Boston on the following day. The enemy had left it never to return. Believing that the British meant to strike their next blow at New York, Washington now prepared to transfer the Continental Army to that point.

Meanwhile, before Howe evacuated Boston, he had sent General Clinton by sea to make an attack on North Carolina. There Sir Peter Parker, with a fleet from Great Britain, bringing a land force under Lord Cornwallis, was to join him. Clinton expected that the Tories of North Carolina (§ 203) would aid him in conquering the colony. But the North Carolina patriots rose, and, attacking the Loyalists at Moore's Creek (February 27, 1776), completely routed them. This defeat of his Tory allies changed Clinton's plans, and Parker's fleet having arrived he sailed south to attack Charleston. Charleston harbor was defended by a fort of palmetto logs on Sullivan's Island. Colonel Moultrie, with the help of such heroes as Sergeant Jasper,[485] held the fort, and defended it with such desperate courage that the British were forced to retire with heavy loss.

The patriots of Georgia — a colony where the Tories were numerous — were one in spirit with the patriots of the Carolinas. They said: "Britain may destroy our towns, but we can retire to the back country and tire her out."[486]

208. The war for colonial rights becomes a war for national independence; "Common Sense." — Up to the beginning of 1776 the Americans had been fighting in defence of their rights as loyal subjects of George III. Their object was not to overthrow the legitimate authority of the King, but simply, as Congress declared, to resist "the claim and exercise of unconstitutional powers to which neither the Crown nor Parliament were ever entitled."[487]

Philad.a July 5. 1775

Mr Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. —You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People. —Look upon your Hands! —They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! —You and I were long Friends: —You are now my Enemy, —and

I am,

Yours,

B Franklin

FRANKLIN'S LETTER TO STRAHAN.

If they were "rebels," then the leading members of Parliament — such men as Burke, Pitt, and Fox, who were battling for political reform in England — were also rebels.[488] The main difference was that the Americans fought with guns because they had no parliamentary votes, while the Whigs in Parliament fought with votes because they had no need of guns.

But after the opening of 1776 there were unmistakable signs that men's minds were rapidly moving toward independence. The positive refusal of the King to grant any measure of redress gave great impetus to this movement.

Early in January (1776) Thomas Paine published his remarkable pamphlet entitled "Common Sense." "Nothing," said he, "can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open and determined declaration for independence."[489] These vigorous words gave expression to the thoughts of thousands. Edition after edition of the pamphlet was called for. It converted multitudes to the belief that the safety and welfare of America demanded a full and final separation from the mother-country.[490]

A few months later the news came that the King had resolved to hire a large body of German troops to help put down the American rebellion (§ 201). Then Congress resolved that "every kind of authority under the said Crown should be totally suppressed."[491]

209. The Declaration of Independence. — The climax was reached on June 7th (1776), when Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered the following resolution in Congress: "Resolved, that these United States are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent* States." John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the resolution. This momentous measure was debated for two days. John Adams, Lee, and other prominent men urged its immediate adoption; John Dickinson, Robert R. Lincoln, Edward Rutledge, and other members from six of the middle and southern colonies objected. They were staunch patriots, but they thought that the resolution was untimely and unwise.

Jefferson says that the debate showed "that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem," and that "it was thought most prudent to wait a while for them." [492]

Meanwhile, Thomas Jefferson and four others were appointed a committee to draft a Declaration of Independence. A second committee, consisting of one from each colony, was chosen to report Articles of Confederation for the government of the new republic.

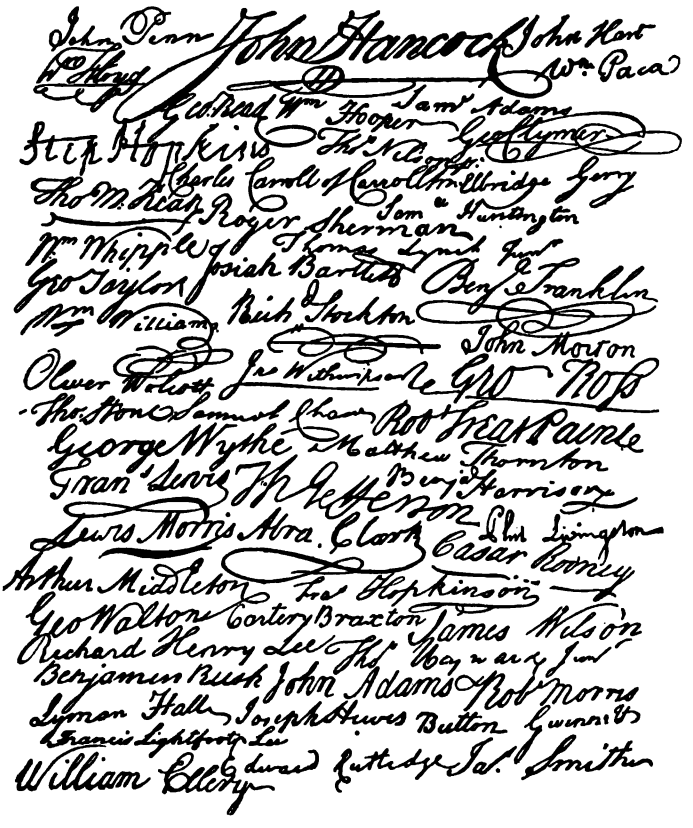
On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence, prepared in the main by Jefferson, was adopted by Congress, and sent forth broadcast over the country. It marked the birth of the United States as a nation.[493]

The Americans had not sought separation from the mother-country. The King and his "friends" (§ 185) forced them to take the decisive step.

Washington ordered the Declaration to be read to every brigade of the Continental Army in and around New York City. That night the gilded lead statue of George III. which stood on Bowling Green was pulled down to be run into bullets. Henceforth the Americans were determined to prosecute the war until Great Britain should acknowledge them a separate and independent people.

210. The British forces at New York; offers of pardon; battle of Long Island. — Meanwhile General Howe had arrived with his army from Halifax (§ 207), and finding Washington in possession of New York City and Brooklyn, he encamped on Staten Island. General Howe's brother, Admiral Howe, arrived soon afterward with a fleet bringing heavy reinforcements. In accordance with instructions from the British Government, the Howes issued a circular offering to receive the submission of all "rebels" who should throw themselves on the King's mercy. The offer accomplished nothing. As Washington said, the Americans felt that they were simply

and for the support of this declaration]
we mutually pledge to each other our
lives our fortunes, & our sacred honour.



SIGNATURES TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

defending their rights, and "having committed no fault, they needed no pardon."[491]

It was now evident that the war must go on. Washington's entire force consisted of less than 18,000 men, of whom only about 11,000 reported for duty. This body of raw recruits was poorly armed; some, in fact, had no arms at all, and had never handled any weapon more dangerous than a pitchfork. On the other hand, Howe had an army of veterans splendidly equipped, and nearly thirty-two thousand strong.

The English commander's plan of campaign was based on the maxim: "Divide to conquer." His object was to get possession of the Hudson. This would give the British control of the water-way to Canada, and would effectually cut off New England from the Middle and Southern States.

Washington, fully alive to this danger, was determined to hold New York, and maintain the military unity of the colonies. To prevent the enemy from ascending the Hudson he had erected Fort Washington on the upper part of the island of New York, with Fort Lee on the opposite shore. General Greene had orders to hold the important position of Brooklyn Heights, commanding New York on the south. Unfortunately, Greene fell sick, and Washington had to give his position to General Putnam, who had never examined the defences on Long Island. Putnam's entire force was only eight thousand men. Howe saw that if he could get possession of Brooklyn Heights he could drive Washington out of New York, just as Washington, after he got possession of Dorchester Heights, had driven him (§ 207) out of Boston.

The English commander sent twenty thousand regulars to dislodge Putnam. The latter, while holding his entrenchments, could only spare four thousand to oppose the enemy's advance. The odds were five to one in favor of the British, hence, they easily won the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776).

During the progress of the battle Washington crossed over from New York to Brooklyn Heights with reinforcements. He

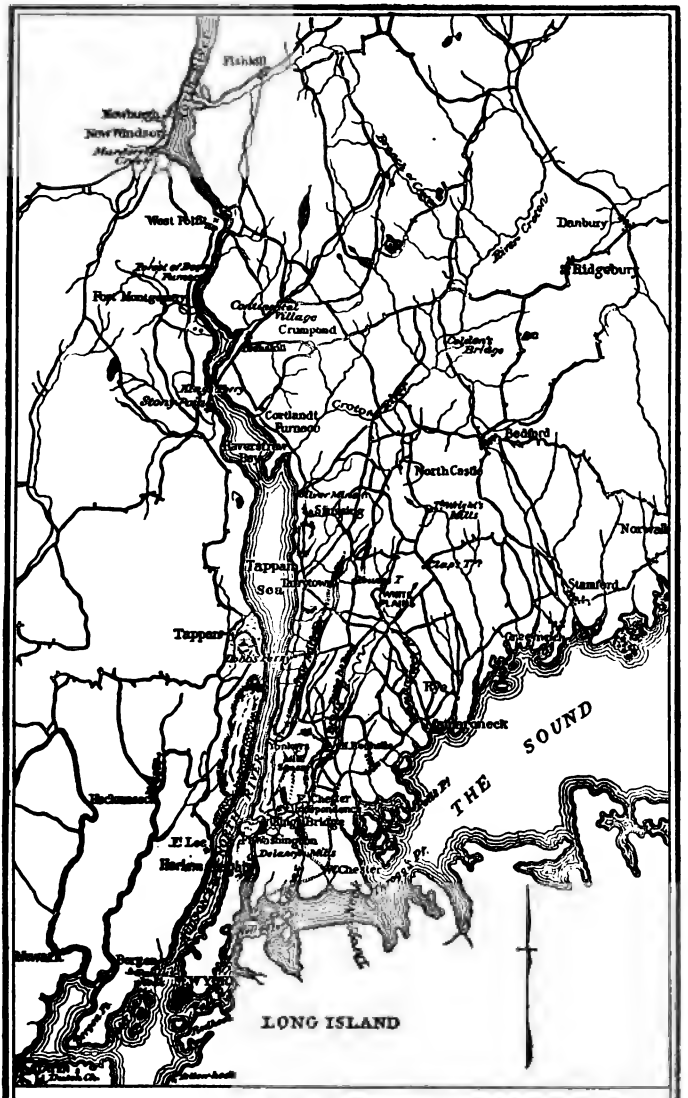
decided that retreat was the only prudent course. Taking advantage of a heavy fog which rested on Long Island but did not touch the opposite shore, Washington succeeded in getting the entire army safely across to New York. When the sun appeared, and Howe stretched out his hand to take the "nest of rebels," he found to his disgust that the nest was empty.

211. Washington driven out of New York; loss of Forts Washington and Lee. — A few weeks later (September, 1776) Howe landed a strong body of troops in New York. He stopped to taste some of Mrs. Robert Murray's old Madeira, and so just missed the chance of capturing Putnam's division.[495] While the gallant British commander was enjoying the society of that patriotic lady and her charming daughter, Putnam hastily retreated to Harlem and joined Washington. Mrs. Murray had "saved the American army."

Howe gradually pushed the Americans as far north as Northcastle. Washington then crossed over to New Jersey, leaving General Charles Lee with seventy-five hundred men to defend Northcastle, and sending Heath with three thousand men to hold the Highlands at West Point.

Howe obtained plans of Fort Washington (then under command of General Greene) from a traitor within its walls.[496] The British general surprised and took the works (November 16, 1776). Washington witnessed the battle from the west bank of the Hudson and wept like a child, it is said, when he saw his men bayoneted by the Hessians while begging for quarter.[497] Now that Fort Washington was taken, Fort Lee, which Greene held, was as useless as one half a pair of shears without the other half. Before he could evacuate it he was surprised, and barely managed to escape.

212. The retreat across New Jersey (November 21 to December 8, 1776); Washington crosses the Delaware. — Washington at once (November 21, 1776) began his famous retreat across New Jersey. If worst came to worst, he might hope by crossing the Delaware to save his army and also to



NEW YORK & VICINITY IN 1778.

save Philadelphia. He had ordered Lee (§ 201) to join him without delay, but that false-hearted officer deliberately disobeyed. He was plotting to get the chief command for himself.

Lord Cornwallis (§ 207) pursued Washington's little army so closely that the British would sometimes be entering a town at one end just as the Americans were leaving it at the other; but by rapid marching and by destroying bridges Washington managed to keep out of the enemy's clutches.

On December 8 (1776) Washington reached Trenton. He seized every boat and scow on the river from Philadelphia for seventy miles upward, and then crossed the Delaware. Cornwallis came up to the bank of the river just in time to see the last boat-load of patriots push off from shore.

A few days later Lee was captured in New Jersey. He had moved there with his army, but with no intention, as he later admitted, of joining Washington. Lee's force managed to escape the British and unite with Washington; but many of the new-comers were "fit only for the hospital."

213. Victory at Trenton; Robert Morris; victory at Princeton. — While Cornwallis — who had moved to Princeton — was waiting for an opportunity to cross the river and attack Philadelphia, he left Colonel Rahl with a force of Hessians to hold Trenton. On Christmas night (1776) Washington, with less than twenty-five hundred men, secretly recrossed the Delaware — then full of floating ice — and fell on the enemy early in the morning at Trenton. Rahl had not slept off the effects of his numerous bowls of Christmas punch, and Washington completely surprised him, capturing between nine hundred and a thousand prisoners, besides large quantities of arms and ammunition.

It was a little battle, but it was a great victory, because it had great results. It kindled new hope in the hearts of dispirited and despairing patriots, and it completely upset Howe's plans.[498]

The only drawback to the joy of the American commander was the pressing need of money — of hard cash (§ 204), not depreciated or worthless Continental bills — to secure new enlistments. In this emergency Washington wrote to his friend Robert Morris of Philadelphia, asking him to send as much silver as he could raise. Morris set out before it was light on New Year's morning (1777), and went from house to house, rousing his friends from their beds, and begging them to lend him all the coin they could spare. In this way he got $50,000, which he forthwith sent to Washington.[499]

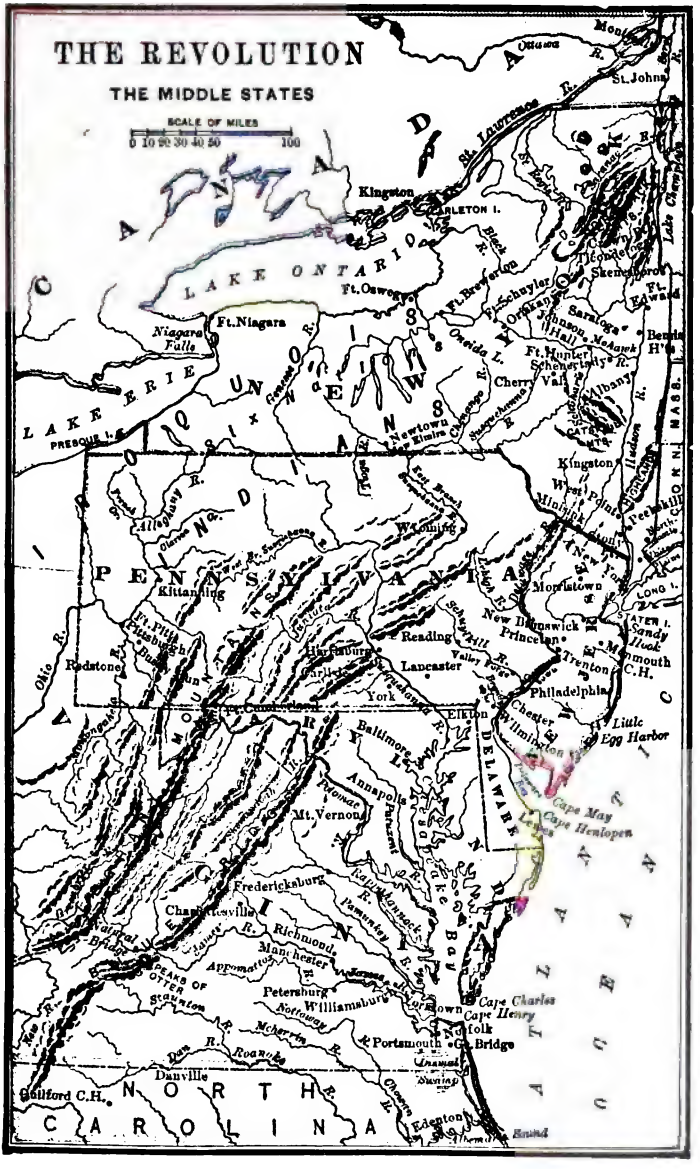
Meanwhile Cornwallis, leaving part of his force at Princeton, hurried south in the hope of catching the Americans at Trenton. Washington's case seemed hopeless ; behind him was the broad Delaware full of broken ice, before him Cornwallis had gathered his troops for battle.

The British did not reach Trenton until nearly sundown (January 2, 1777), and the night threatened to be foggy. Cornwallis decided to postpone the attack until the next day. He went to bed in high spirits. "At last," said he, "we have run down the old fox, and we will bag him in the morning."[500]

But "the old fox" did not wait to be bagged. Leaving his camp-fires burning brightly, Washington crept stealthily out of his entrenchments, slipped around Cornwallis's sleeping army, and marched rapidly on Princeton. There (January 3, 1777) he surprised and completely routed the British line. Washington then advanced to the heights at Morristown and went into winter quarters. Frederick the Great considered the movements of Washington during these ten days — December 25, 1776, to January 4, 1777 — the most brilliant of any recorded in the annals of military history.

214. Plans of Lord Germain; Washington baffles Howe; Howe sails for Philadelphia. — The American commander spent the winter at Morristown reorganizing his army.

Lord Germain, of the English Cabinet, had the general control of the British forces in America. He now resolved to


THE REVOLUTION
THE MIDDLE STATES
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
CANADA
Ottawa R.
St. Johns
St. Lawrence R.
Kingston
CARLETON I.
LAKE ONTARIO
Ft. Oswego
Niagara Falls
Ft. Niagara
LAKE ERIE
PRESQUE I.
Six Nations
Oneida L.
Ft. Schuyler
Ft. Brewerton
Skenesborough
Ft. Edward
Saratoga
Johnson Hall
Mohawk R.
Ft. Hunter
Schenectady
Albany
Cherry Valley
Susquehanna R.
Newtown or Elmira
Genesee R.
Allegheny R.
Kittanning
Ft. Pitt
Pittsburgh
Redstone
Ohio R.
Monongahela R.
Youghiogheny R.
Cumberland
Harrisburg
Carlisle
Susquehanna R.
Lancaster
Reading
Schuylkill R.
Valley Forge
York
Elkton
Baltimore
Annapolis
Potomac R.
Mt. Vernon
Chesapeake Bay
Rappahannock R.
Fredericksburg
Rapidan R.
Charlottesville
James R.
Richmond
Manchester
Appomattox R.
Peaks of Otter
Staunton
Petersburg
Williamsburg
Yorktown
Cape Charles
Cape Henry
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Great Bridge
Roanoke R.
Dan R.
Danville
Guilford C.H.
Chowan R.
Edenton
NORTH CAROLINA
Albemarle Sound
Pamlico Sound
Currituck Inlet
Hudson R.
Mohawk R.
Schoharie R.
Schoharie Creek
Esopus Creek
Kingston
West Point
Minisink
Newburgh
Fishkill
Poughkeepsie
Morristown
New Brunswick
Princeton
Trenton
Sandy Hook
Monmouth C.H.
Philadelphia
Chester
Wilmington
Little Egg Harbor
Cape May
Cape Henlopen
Delaware Bay
Delaware R.
Delaware
Long I.
Staten I.
Atlantic Ocean

make a determined effort to get possession of the Hudson. The plan adopted was (1) for Burgoyne to move down from Canada early in the coming summer (1777), take Ticonderoga, and advance directly on Albany. (2) Meanwhile another British force, starting from Canada, was to land at Oswego, New York. They were to secure the aid of the "Six Nations" and that of the Tories; then they were to capture Fort Stanwix (near Rome) on the upper Mohawk and, moving down the Mohawk valley, join Burgoyne at Albany. (3) Finally, Howe was to send a division of his army up the Hudson, capture the American forts in the Highlands, and advance and join forces with Burgoyne. This scheme, if successful, would give the English entire control of the State of New York.

By a mischance Lord Germain's despatch from London, ordering Howe to coöperate with Burgoyne, did not reach the British commander until it was too late for him to be of service.

Meanwhile Howe had wasted nearly three weeks (June 12–30, 1777) in endeavoring to march across New Jersey to strike Philadelphia, the "rebel capital." Nothing hindered the British general's movements but Washington's little army. Washington took such strong positions that the enemy did not dare to attack him, and if they left him in their rear he could cut off their supplies. Constantly harassed by our troops, Howe finally fell back in disgust to Staten Island.[501]

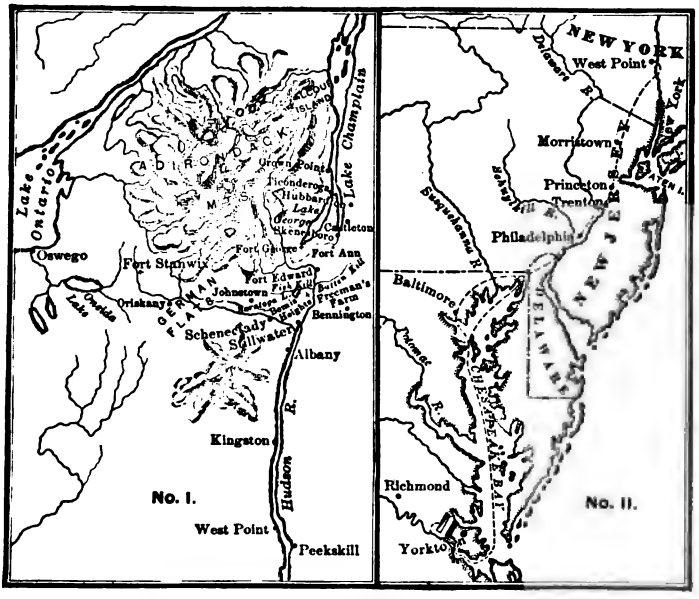
Late in July (1777), having left Clinton to hold New York, Howe started with a large fleet to reach Philadelphia by sea. He found the Delaware obstructed; for this reason he landed his troops (August 23, 1777) at the head of Chesapeake Bay, sixty miles from Philadelphia.

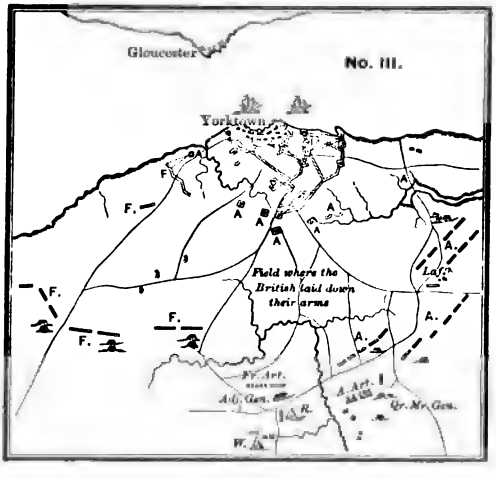
215. The British enter Philadelphia; Valley Forge; Burgoyne's advance to Fort Edward. — Washington met the advancing British force at Chad's Ford on Brandywine Creek (September 11, 1777). The Americans were small in numbers, and were defeated with heavy loss.[502] Howe entered Philadelphia in triumph about a fortnight later.

Meanwhile Washington attacked (October 4, 1777) the British force encamped at Germantown (now a suburb of Philadelphia). A dense fog prevailed, and two of our brigades fired at each other in the belief that they were attacking the enemy; the confusion that ensued caused our defeat.[503] Early in December Washington retreated to the hills of Valley Forge, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, where he took up his winter quarters (1777–1778).

But if the British had succeeded in getting possession of the capital of the American republic, they had met with terrible disaster in the North. According to orders (§ 214), Burgoyne, with a force of nearly eight thousand men, including some four hundred Indians, had moved upon Ticonderoga; and had captured it (July 5, 1777). He then advanced against General Schuyler (§ 206), who stood between him and the Hudson. Schuyler felled trees across the only road through the forest, destroyed fifty bridges and causeways, and, by damming up a creek, converted a part of the British line of march into a deep swamp. When at last, after a march of twenty-four days, the British general reached Fort Edward, Schuyler abandoned it, and pushing on across the Hudson took up his position at Bemis Heights, about twenty miles above Albany.

216. Burgoyne gets his left wing clipped at Bennington. — Burgoyne now sent (August 16, 1777) a thousand or more Hessians and Indians to make a raid on the supplies which the Americans were reported to hold at Bennington, Vermont. But Colonel John Stark of New Hampshire and Seth Warner of Vermont stood ready with a body of farmers in their shirt sleeves to give the invaders a warm reception.[504] Less than a hundred out of the thousand Hessians ever got back to Burgoyne, and the Indians fled for their lives, shouting "the woods are full of Yankees," — thus the British general got his left wing effectually clipped. Washington called the victory at Bennington "a great stroke." It prevented Burgoyne from getting the supplies he sorely needed, and cut off all com-





MAP No. I. Burgoyne's campaign: MAP No. II. Washington's advance from New York to Yorktown: MAP No. III. Yorktown: A. A. A. American forces; F. F. F. French army; *W.* Washington's headquarters; *R.* Rochambeau's headquarters; *Laf.* Lafayette.

munication between him and the garrison he had left at Ticonderoga.

217. Burgoyne gets his right wing clipped at Oriskany and Fort Stanwix. — Burgoyne's right wing, under St. Leger, who was advancing from Oswego (§ 214) against Fort Stanwix (near Rome), fared no better. General Herkimer met the enemy at Oriskany (August 6, 1777), a few miles from the fort. A terrible hand-to-hand fight ensued. Herkimer received a mortal wound which brought him to the ground. He ordered his men to place him with his back to a tree; then, lighting his pipe, the hero of Oriskany continued to direct the battle until reinforcements came up from Fort Stanwix, and the enemy fled from the field.

St. Leger, however, was besieging Fort Stanwix, which he was determined to take at any cost. Congress had recently (June 14, 1777) adopted the "stars and stripes" as the banner of the American republic, and a rudely made national flag floated defiantly over the fort. It was the first time our colors had been displayed in battle on land (§ 224), and the British general swore that he would carry the flag away with him.

Meanwhile, Benedict Arnold, with twelve hundred men, was marching to relieve the garrison of Fort Stanwix. Arnold managed to send forward reports which represented him as at the head of several thousand well armed troops. The Indians of St. Leger's force, thinking that Schuyler's whole army was about to swoop down, fled in a panic. St. Leger then (August 22, 1777) retreated to Oswego and sailed for Canada.

218. The first battle of Bemis Heights (or Saratoga); the second battle; results. — General Gates, a scheming politician, had been sent by Congress to supersede Schuyler and fight Burgoyne's center. Gates entrenched himself at Bemis Heights (September 12, 1777) on ground selected by Benedict Arnold and fortified by Kosciusko (§ 201).

Burgoyne was anxious to reach Albany, but not daring to leave the American forces in his rear, he advanced and

attacked them (September 19, 1777). Both armies fought desperately; neither could claim a victory; but as the British lost two men to our one their advance was checked.

The second battle (October 7, 1777) was even more desperately contested than the first. Morgan with his famous sharpshooters opened the fight on our side. Gates did not show himself on the field, as in fact he had not done in the previous battle. Arnold had quarreled with Gates and had thrown up his command; but he now put himself at the head of his former division and rushed on to victory, amid the cheers of the men for their old leader.

Burgoyne fell back to Saratoga, six miles distant, and there (October 17, 1777) surrendered. We took nearly six thousand prisoners and a large quantity of arms.

Burgoyne's surrender was the "turning-point" of the Revolution.[505] It had three momentous results: (1) it completely broke up the plans of the British Government (§ 214) respecting the war; (2) it secured for us the open aid of England's old and powerful enemy, France;[506] (3) it inspired the whole Continental Army with new hope.

219. Treaties with France; Valley Forge. — The news of Burgoyne's surrender filled England with consternation and France with delight. In the spring (May 2, 1778) a messenger arrived from the French capital bringing two treaties, — one of commerce and good-will, the other of defensive alliance, securing to us the help of a French fleet. Franklin, who acted as our chief agent in Paris, had achieved a diplomatic triumph. He fought for us in France as sturdily and steadily as Washington fought for us at home.

America resounded with rejoicings over the glad tidings; Lafayette grasped Washington's hand and shed tears of joy. Washington ordered a salute of thirteen guns to celebrate the event, and the hillsides of Valley Forge echoed with the enthusiastic hurrahs of the Continental Army as they cheered the King of France.

Meanwhile our men at Valley Forge were in wretched plight. They had just passed through a winter of unparalleled hardship and suffering. Out of eight thousand troops nearly three thousand were "barefoot and otherwise naked." Washington wrote to the President of Congress (December 23, 1777) that unless relief came the army must either "starve, dissolve, or disperse in order to obtain subsistence." [507]

The truth is that our men were sacrificed to the mismanagement or the timidity of Congress. There was no lack of provisions or of coarse clothing in the country, and at the very time the Continental Army was freezing and starving on the bleak hillsides of Valley Forge the enemy's forces in Philadelphia, as elsewhere, could buy from the farmers all the food and fuel they wanted.[508]

220. The Conway plot; Steuben's services; English peace commissioners; battle of Monmouth. — While the American commander was pleading for help for his men, Conway (§ 201), "Inspector-General of the Army," was plotting with Gates to secure Washington's overthrow. Fortunately the correspondence between Conway and Gates leaked out, and the conspiracy ended in ignominious failure.[509]

Baron Steuben (§ 201) was then appointed to Conway's place. Steuben had learned the art of war under Frederick the Great. He drilled the men day after day, swearing in German and in broken English at their awkward manœuvres, until he trained these plain farmers and farmers' sons to move with the precision of military machines.

Sir Henry Clinton now (May 18, 1778) succeeded Howe in command of the British forces. England, alarmed at the French treaty, sent over peace commissioners. They were empowered to offer the people of the United States exemption "forever from taxation by Great Britain," full power "to govern themselves," in fact, everything short of separation and actual independence.[510] Congress rejected the offer, and the

commissioners replied by a proclamation threatening a war of devastation and terror.[511]

Clinton knew that the French fleet was on its way to America; fearing that it might blockade Philadelphia, he proceeded to evacuate that city and move to New York.

Not having ships enough to transport his army of seventeen thousand men, he resolved to march across New Jersey. Washington, with a force about equal to that of the British, followed the retreating enemy. He overtook them at Monmouth (June 28, 1778). The treacherous Lee (§ 212), who had been exchanged and had returned to us, wanted to secure the retreat of the English "on velvet."[512] He tried to persuade a council of war not to attack the enemy. His attempt failed; Washington ordered him to begin the fight. Instead of obeying orders he fell back. At this critical moment the commander-in-chief rode up: "What is the meaning of all this, sir?" demanded Washington in a terrible voice. Lee stammered out an excuse. Washington ordered him to the rear, rallied the retreating men, and drove the British from the field.[513]

This was the last important battle fought at the North. Had Lee done his duty, it might perhaps have been the last battle of the Revolution.

A court-martial convicted Lee of "an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat;" and suspended him "from any command in the armies of the United States" for one year.[514] Later, Congress dismissed him from the army, and he died in disgrace.

221. Prospects of the Revolution (1778); Tory and Indian raids; Washington retaliates. — The prospects of the success of the Revolution now looked decidedly brighter. In future the British must not only fight us, but our French allies besides.

Clinton established his headquarters in New York City, and Washington extended his lines from the heights of Morristown, New Jersey, to the Highlands of the Hudson.

During the summer and autumn of 1778 bands of Tories and Indians of the "Six Nations" devastated Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania (July 3, 1778), and Cherry Valley, New York (November 10, 1778). The cruelties perpetrated in these raids were so horrible that even Brant, the Mohawk leader, was shocked; he said: "I have those with me who are more savage than the savages themselves." [515]

Washington (1779) sent General Sullivan to retaliate. He totally destroyed the Indian settlements of the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas in western New York.[516]

222. The expedition of George Rogers Clark (1778-1779); Kaskaskia. — Meanwhile George Rogers Clark of Virginia had undertaken no less a task than the conquest of the country northwest of the Ohio. That vast wilderness was then held by the British forts at Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia. All but Detroit were at that time garrisoned by French and half-breeds in the pay of the English.

That whole region was then claimed by Virginia as part of its original charter-domain (§ 40). Aided by Patrick Henry, then Governor of that State, Clark collected a small body of frontiersmen as resolute as himself. These hardy pioneers recognized no authority higher than that of Virginia. They proposed to fight on their own responsibility and for their own ends, quite independent of either Washington or Congress.

Embarking at Pittsburg (June 26, 1778), they dropped down the Ohio a distance of nearly a thousand miles through the unbroken forest, and landed at a point in what is now southern Illinois. Clark and his men then marched across the country to Fort Kaskaskia (July 5, 1778). A dance was in progress at the fort when Clark entered it unperceived. When he was discovered there was a shout of alarm. "Keep on with your merriment," said Clark, "but remember that you now dance under Virginia, not Great Britain." [517]

223. Cahokia; Vincennes; Clark takes the fort; conquest of the Northwest. — Clark won the good will of Father

Gibault, the French Catholic priest at Kaskaskia, and through his influence the French garrison at Cahokia and at Vincennes took the Oath of Allegiance and hoisted the American flag.

Meanwhile Hamilton had retaken Vincennes. Clark with a little band of tenscore men at once set out from Kaskaskia to get it back again. It was a winter march (February 7–25, 1779) of about two hundred miles. The latter part of the way lay through the "drowned lands" of the Wabash. The men, nearly dead from hunger, had to wade for miles through water breast deep, filled with floating ice.

After a sharp fight Clark took the fort, and (February 25, 1779) soon hoisted the "stars and stripes" in triumph. When the flag of the Republic rose above the fort this time it rose to stay, for it marked the end of British authority in that section forever. The Virginia hero and his followers had conquered the whole Northwest below the British fort at Detroit.

224. Captain Paul Jones; the British on the Hudson; Anthony Wayne. — A few months later came glorious news from Captain Paul Jones, the first man to hoist the "stars and stripes" on an American war-ship. With his little fleet of three vessels — one a half-rotten old hulk — he had captured (September 23, 1779) two British men-of-war, the "Serapis" and the "Countess of Scarborough," off the east coast of England. Thousands of excited people watched the progress of the battle from the promontory of Flamborough Head. At length they saw the English ships strike the red ensign of St. George to a man whom they loudly denounced as a "rebel" and a "pirate."

But the British before radically changing their war plans were determined to make one more effort to obtain control of the Hudson. They succeeded in getting possession (June, 1779) of the half-finished American works at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point. Anthony Wayne led a midnight expedition (July 15, 1779) against the first-named fort, and took it at the

point of the bayonet. It was a very brilliant victory. But we were not strong enough to hold the works permanently.

225. British successes in the far South; Charleston taken (1780). — The British now determined to transfer active military operations to the far South. They hoped in that quarter to receive the assistance of the Loyalists (§ 203).

An expedition sent by sea had already captured Savannah (December 29, 1778), and Augusta was next taken. Washington sent General Lincoln to the South, but he failed to drive the enemy out of Augusta. In a similar attempt on Savannah he was badly defeated (October 9, 1779), and the gallant Pulaski (§ 201) was killed.

Early the next spring (1780) Clinton sailed to attack Charleston — Lincoln's headquarters. After a siege of six weeks the town surrendered (May 12, 1780). Clinton took more than five thousand prisoners and property valued at nearly $1,500,000.[518] The British commander-in-chief returned to New York in June (1780). He left Cornwallis with a force of seven or eight thousand troops to hold Charleston and subdue the State.

Cornwallis issued a proclamation warning all inhabitants of South Carolina that if they did not return to their allegiance to the King they would be treated as "rebels"; in other words, he threatened to hang them.[519] The brutal Colonel Tarleton had massacred a party of these "rebels" on the bank of the Waxhaw, and a bitter partisan struggle — a civil war, in fact — now began between patriots and Tories.

226. Gates appointed commander at the South; the battle of Camden. — The most important point in the interior of South Carolina was Camden. It was a great center for roads, and was considered "the key between the North and South." Washington had sent De Kalb (§ 201) with a small body of men to aid the patriots of South Carolina in recovering Camden and other points in the interior. Washington hoped to secure the appointment of Greene to the general command of the

Southern department, but Congress disregarded his wishes and appointed (June 13, 1780) Gates (§ 218).

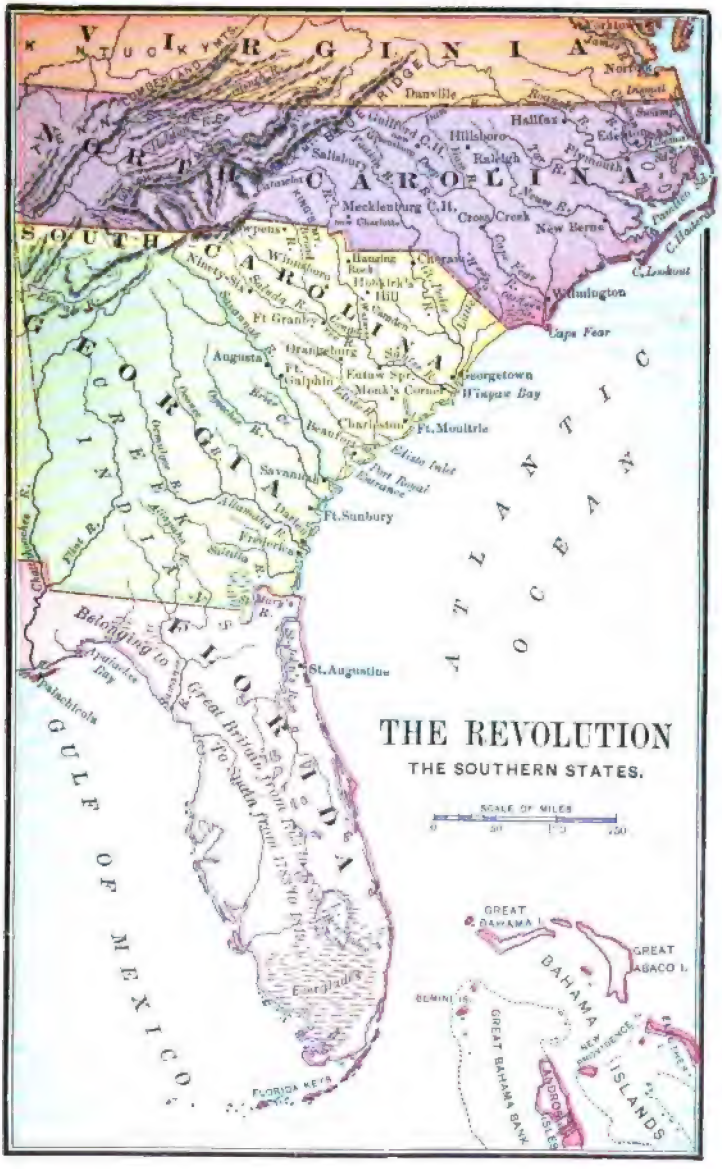
Gates joined De Kalb at Hillsborough, North Carolina. He had about three thousand men fit for duty, and he insisted that this "grand army," as he called it, should at once march on to Camden, where Cornwallis, unknown to the American general, had arrived.

Gates's men arrived tired out, sick, and hungry; but he at once opened the battle of Camden (August 16, 1780). De Kalb's soldiers fought desperately, but most of the militia "fled without firing a shot." This was not strange, for raw recruits will seldom stand against the attack of regular troops. "Two-thirds of the army," says Gates, "ran like a torrent." Gates himself got away as fast as his horse could carry him, and did not fully stop until he arrived at Charlotte, sixty miles away.[520] From Charlotte, Gates, still running away from his army, sped on to Hillsborough, North Carolina. This singular retreat ended his military career.

227. The treason of Benedict Arnold. — This disaster at the South was followed in the North by the most startling and the saddest event of the war, — the treason of Benedict Arnold.

Notwithstanding Arnold's impetuous bravery and his splendid success as a soldier (§ 218), Congress seemed to grudge him the honor he had fairly earned. When at last Congress tardily raised Arnold (November 29, 1777) to the rank of senior major-general, Washington called it "an act of necessary justice."[521]

Two years later, while in command in Philadelphia, Arnold was charged with fraudulent dealing and with other "illegal and offensive acts." At his own urgent request he was tried by court-martial (December 19, 1779). No criminal intention was proven, but the court sentenced him to receive a reprimand from the commander-in-chief. When he administered it Washington chose words which seemed rather to compliment than rebuke the offender.[522] Yet at that very time Arnold


THE REVOLUTION
THE SOUTHERN STATES.
SCALE OF MILES
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
CREEK INDIANS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Danville
Hillsboro
Raleigh
Halifax
Edenton
Norfolk
Salisbury
Mecklenburg C.H.
Cross Creek
New Berne
Wilmington
Cape Fear
C. Lookout
Hanging Rock
Hobkirk's Hill
Cheraw
Winnsboro
Ninety-Six
Ft Granby
Orangeburg
Augusta
Ft. Galphin
Eutaw Spr.
Monk's Corner
Georgetown
Winyaw Bay
Charleston
Ft. Moultrie
Beaufort
Elisto Inlet
Port Royal Entrance
Savannah
Ft. Sunbury
Frederica
St. Augustine
Apalachicola
Apalachee Bay
Belonging to Great Britain from 1783 to 1819
To Spain from 1783 to 1819
Eastland
FLORIDA KEYS
GREAT BAHAMA I.
GREAT ABACO I.
BAHAMA ISLANDS
BEMINI IS.
GREAT BAHAMA BANK
NEW PROVIDENCE
ANDROS ISLES

was secretly carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Clinton.[523]

The next summer (1780) Arnold sought and obtained the command at West Point — the most important American post on the Hudson. His object in getting the position was to turn it over to the enemy. The price for which he sold himself and betrayed his country was the promise of an appointment as colonel in the British army (with the brevet of brigadier-general) and something over $30,000 in cash.[524]

Fortunately for the American cause the plot to surrender West Point was discovered through the arrest of André, the British officer by whom Arnold was sending plans of the fort to Clinton. On his way back from West Point André was stopped by some of our men and held as a spy. Arnold learned of his capture and instantly fled to the British lines.

André was tried by court-martial and hanged, while the man who had used him as his tool issued a proclamation urging all American soldiers to follow his traitorous example. Later, he led marauding expeditions into Virginia and burned Richmond; his last blow was directed against the towns of New London and Groton on the coast of his native State of Connecticut. Arnold died in London nearly twenty years after the United States had achieved its independence. The motto on his family crest was the single word "Glory"; long before he died he erased that motto with his own hand, and in its place wrote the word "Despair."[525]

228. Dark days; light at the South; victory at King's Mountain (1780). — Arnold's treason marks what was perhaps the darkest period of the Revolution. The enemy, victorious at the South, were ravaging Virginia at will, and the Republic was practically bankrupt. Continental money had sunk so low in value that a soldier's pay amounted in fact to only thirty-three cents a month, and a colonel's pay would not buy oats for his horse.[526]

The winter which followed (1780–1781) was one of terrible severity, and the men suffered even worse hardships at Morristown than they had at Valley Forge (§ 219). Poorly clothed, half-fed, and miserably paid, a part of them rose in revolt. Clinton tried to tempt them to desert, but they rejected his offers with scorn, saying: "We will not turn Arnolds."[527]

But in this period of gloom a gleam of light flashed out in the South. In the autumn (1780) Cornwallis sent Major Ferguson, a brave and efficient officer, to cut off a body of patriots then retreating from Georgia to the sea-coast of North Carolina. Suddenly Ferguson found that he was in danger of being cut off himself by a body of mountaineers and backwoodsmen.[528]

The British commander fell back to King's Mountain, a high ridge on the boundary line between the Carolinas. There he took his stand, declaring that not all the "rebels" outside of the bottomless pit could drive him to retreat.

The little American force, calling itself the "army of the West," attacked the British on three sides (October 7, 1780). Ferguson had fewer men, but had the advantage of position. He and his soldiers fought like tigers, driving the Americans back again and again; but our fourth assault was successful, and the enemy surrendered.

Cornwallis was so disheartened by this defeat that he fell back to Winnesborough, near the center of South Carolina, to wait for Clinton to send reinforcements. Many of the Carolinians, encouraged by the patriot victory, joined Marion's ranks, and did excellent service in the cause of liberty.

229. Greene takes command in the Carolinas; disposition of his forces; battle of Cowpens. — Washington now sent General Greene to the South. He arrived (December 7, 1780) at Charlotte, South Carolina, to take command of his "shadow of an army" — for his whole force fit for duty amounted to only eight hundred men.[529]

Greene divided this "shadow" into two nearly equal parts. One of them he led to a strong position at the base of Cheraw

Hill. There they could coöperate with Marion, and threaten Cornwallis's communication with the coast.

The other division Greene sent westward under Daniel Morgan — "then the best commander of light troops in the world." Morgan was to threaten the British garrisons at the important posts of Ninety-Six and Augusta.

Cornwallis had (after he received reinforcements) nearly five thousand well-equipped troops; but he found himself between two fires — Greene and Marion on one side, and Morgan on the other. The British commander now sent Colonel Tarleton, "his right arm," with over a thousand troops to crush Morgan or compel him to retreat. The two forces met (January 17, 1781) at the cattle pastures called the Cowpens, a little south of King's Mountain.

Tarleton was completely routed, and lost more than two-thirds of his men. This defeat struck Cornwallis as hard a blow as Burgoyne had received at Bennington (§ 216). The battle of King's Mountain had clipped one wing of the British army; now Morgan had clipped the other.

230. Greene's retreat; Steele's Tavern; the race for the Dan. — Morgan knowing that Cornwallis, with the whole British force, would soon be in pursuit of him, now retreated northward. Greene sent his men forward to join Morgan's in North Carolina. Cornwallis, by a rapid movement, crossed the Catawba, scattering the American militia that had gathered there to oppose his passage.

With a heavy heart, Greene rode on to Steele's Tavern at Salisbury. "What, alone, General?" asked his friend, Dr. Read, as the American commander dismounted. "Yes," answered Greene, "tired, hungry, alone, and penniless." Mrs. Steele, the landlord's wife, heard the reply. She set a smoking hot breakfast before the weary soldier, then cautiously shutting the door behind her, she held out a little bag of silver to him in each hand: "Take these," said she, "for you need them and I can do without them."

A portrait of George III. was hanging over the fireplace — placed there when Americans loved to call him their King. Greene turned the face to the wall, and wrote on the back of the portrait: "Hide thy face, George, and blush."[850]

A few days later the men that Greene had sent forward united with Morgan's at Guilford Court House (now Greensboro), North Carolina. Knowing that Cornwallis was in hard pursuit of him, Greene himself hurried forward with his force to cross the Dan. The American commander won the race, and succeeded (February 14, 1781) in crossing the stream then swollen to a torrent by heavy rains. The British came up just as the last boat had reached the opposite bank. Cornwallis found an unfordable river in front of him, and not a boat to be had.

231. Battle of Guilford Court House (1781); Cornwallis's retreat to Wilmington; Hobkirk's Hill; Ninety-Six; Eutaw Springs. — Greene, having obtained reinforcements, now had nearly twice as many men as Cornwallis; but they were largely raw recruits, wretchedly armed, and short of provisions, while the force under Cornwallis was made up of veterans. The American commander recrossed the Dan, and (March 15, 1781) fought the battle of Guilford Court House (Greensboro). Cornwallis won the day, but lost so many men that he was forced to retreat to Wilmington, where a British fleet had established a depot of supplies.

A little later Greene astonished Cornwallis by suddenly moving back to South Carolina to fall on the British force left there in charge of Lord Rawdon. This was too much, and Cornwallis wrote (April 23, 1781): "My situation is very distressing."[851] Finally, not knowing what else to do, he decided to advance into Virginia and unite with the British forces there.

Meanwhile Greene met and fought Rawdon (April 25, 1781) at Hobkirk's Hill, just outside of Camden. Rawdon gained the day, but as Major Henry Lee and Marion had cut his communication with Charleston, the British commander had to abandon Camden and retreat. Greene summarized his experi-

ences in a letter to Washington, saying: "We fight, get beat, and fight again."[532] He next began the siege of the British post at Ninety-Six, but failed to take the fort, and shortly after fell back to the hills of Santee to refresh his men.

The southern campaigns of the Revolution, below Virginia, ended with the battle of Eutaw Springs (September 8, 1781). Greene said of this battle: "It was by far the most obstinate fight I ever saw."[533] Both sides claimed the victory. Practically Eutaw resulted in success for the Americans, for the British, unable to hold the field, fled to Charleston and shut themselves up there.

Greene had never gained a victory in the South, yet, following Washington's example, he had exhausted and baffled the enemy. More than this, with the help of Marion, Sumter, and other partisan leaders, he had practically recovered possession of the Carolinas.

232. Cornwallis enters Virginia; ravages the country; Lafayette's movements; Yorktown. — Meanwhile Cornwallis in pursuance of his plan (§ 231) had reached Petersburg, Virginia (May 20, 1781), and had increased his force to about seven thousand men. The British commander was confronted by Lafayette, who was waiting for Wayne to arrive with reinforcements.

Cornwallis (May 20 to June 26, 1781) sent out a force of a thousand cavalry, mounted on Virginia race-horses, to ravage the country. They seized or destroyed about $15,000,000 worth of property.[534]

The British commander laughed at Lafayette, and boastingly wrote: "The boy cannot escape me." It so happened, however, that "the boy" intercepted Cornwallis's letter, and not only managed to escape him, but seriously harassed all his movements. At length, acting in obedience to what he considered imperative orders from Clinton, Cornwallis, with his seven thousand troops, retired (July 30, 1781) to the peninsula of Yorktown.[535]

233. Washington prepares to attack Cornwallis; what the French did. — Washington had been planning an attack on New York. He now pressed De Grasse, who commanded a powerful French fleet in the West Indies, to come to his help. De Grasse decided that he would sail not for New York, but for Chesapeake Bay. This fact changed Washington's plans (August 17, 1781), and with the coöperation of the French commander he resolved to strike Cornwallis instead of Clinton.

Count Rochambeau's army of four thousand French regulars had been stationed at Newport, Rhode Island, since 1780. The Count now moved to the vicinity of New York to act with the Continental Army in its attack on Yorktown. Less than six months had passed since the American commander expressed grave doubts whether he could manage to keep the army together for the summer. He then wrote: "We are at the end of our tether . . . now or never deliverance must come." [536] At last deliverance had come.

Washington contrived, as he said, to completely "misguide and bewilder" Clinton, who was made to believe that the Americans were getting ready to attack New York. At length, when everything was prepared, Washington suddenly broke camp (August 19, 1781). Leaving Heath with four thousand men to hold West Point, he set out with his combined French and American army of six thousand troops to march across the country.[537]

But when the great movement was actually in progress, and part of the force had reached Philadelphia, a formidable obstacle arose. The men demanded their pay. Washington begged Robert Morris (§ 213) to raise some "hard money" for him. Morris borrowed $20,000 of Count Rochambeau; the sight of the bright silver coin put the Continental Army in good humor, and smoothed the way onward.[538] Fortunately, too, just at this juncture Colonel Laurens arrived at Boston with 2,500,000 francs given by the French King to the American cause.

LAND CLAIMS OF THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES IN 1783.

New York claimed all the lands west of the Alleghany Mountains and north of the Ohio River, belonging to the Six Nations, or Iroquois Indians.

By this time Clinton had discovered Washington's real object, but it was too late for him to help Cornwallis. When the combined French and American armies arrived at the head of Chesapeake Bay, French transports (September 17, 1781) conveyed them to Yorktown. Here Washington was joined by Lafayette's men, by a body of Virginia militia, and by three thousand French soldiers furnished by De Grasse. His total force numbered nine thousand Americans and seven thousand French.

234. The siege and fall of Yorktown (1781). — On the water side the powerful French fleet effectually cut off Cornwallis from all hope of help or of escape in that direction.

On the land side the British general saw himself hemmed in by a force of sixteen thousand — or more than double his own army. The besieging force began at once (September 30, 1781) to throw up works. Day by day they crept nearer to the doomed town. Ten days later (October 9, 1781) Washington himself applied the match to the first American battery. From that time onward, for more than a week, a circle of sixty cannon and mortars rained an incessant storm of shot, shell, and red-hot balls against the defences of Cornwallis. The British general could make but a feeble reply, his stock of artillery ammunition was fast running short, and his half-completed fortifications were crumbling to pieces. Of his garrison only a little over three thousand men were fit for duty ; the rest were lying sick or wounded in hospital, or were worn out by fatigue.

On October 17 (1781) Cornwallis sent out a white flag, and asked for terms. It was just four years to a day since Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga (§ 218). Two days later, October 19 (1781), the British garrison, with colors cased, marched out between the lines of the American and French forces, which formed an avenue more than a mile in length. The captive army moved with slow and solemn steps, their drums beating the quaint but highly appropriate tune of the "World 's Upside Down."[539]

235. Effect of the news of the surrender of Cornwallis in England; treaty of peace (1783). — When the news of the surrender reached London, Lord North, the English prime minister, threw up his arms as though a cannon-ball had struck him, and cried out wildly: "O God, it is all over!"[540] He was right, for although desultory fighting continued for a time, yet the fall of Yorktown really ended the war.

Both sides had long been weary of the struggle. The spring after Cornwallis surrendered, the House of Commons resolved to "consider as enemies to His Majesty and the country" all who should urge the further prosecution of the war against the Americans.

Before the close of that year a provisional treaty of peace was made (1782). On the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years to a day after the battle of Lexington, Washington issued an order to the Continental Army, declaring the war of the Revolution at an end. In making the final treaty of peace we demanded (1) the full recognition of the independence of the thirteen States; (2) the recognition of the Mississippi River as our western boundary; (3) the recognition of our right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. The English, on the other hand, wished (1) to limit our western boundary to the line of the Alleghanies, and (2) to shut us out from any part in the cod fisheries; finally they (3) insisted on our making compensation to the Tories for their loss of property.

Our commissioners, Adams, Franklin, and Jay, refused to yield to these demands, but agreed that the last demand should be referred to the legislatures of the States, with a recommendation that they give it favorable consideration. The result was that when the final treaty was signed at Paris, September 3, 1783, it fully recognized all that we claimed, namely: (1) the independence of the American Republic; (2) the Mississippi River as our western boundary; (3) our right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland.[541]

THE UNITED STATES
AT THE PEACE OF 1783.
The Mississippi was then the western boundary of the U. S.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude 100 West from 90 Greenwich
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Claimed by the Spanish and the English.
Great Salt Lake
Cedeo to Spain by France
Yellowstone R.
Missouri R.
Platte R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Sabine R.
Rio Grande
Nueces R.
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Mississippi R.
St. Louis
Vincennes
Nashville
Natchez
Mobile
New Orleans
Lake Superior
Marquette
L. Huron
L. Michigan
Lake Erie
Ohio R.
Pittsburg
Philadelphia
Albany
New York
Montreal
Quebec
Richmond
Raleigh
Charleston
Savannah
St. Augustine
St. Mary's R.
Bahama Is.
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
KENTUCKY
W. VA.
Lawrence
Ontario
Hudson
Baltimore
Annapolis
Philadelphia
Trenton
Albany
Boston
Hartford
Savannah R.
Chattahoochee R.
Mississippi R.
Red R. of the North
Reindeer R.

236. Articles of Confederation; Maryland and the western land claims. — Meanwhile the United States had adopted (1781) the plan of confederation first reported to Congress in 1776 (§ 209).

Congress voted (1777) to accept the proposed constitution, but several of the States found serious objections to it. In order that the Articles of Confederation should go into effect, it was necessary that all of the States should formally ratify them. Finally, all agreed to do so except Maryland. She positively refused unless the seven States which claimed western territory (§ 173) should cede their claims to the United States for the general good.

For a long time none of the States claiming western lands would agree to give them up. This difficulty threatened to prevent the adoption of any regular system of national government. At length, however, New York offered to surrender her claim. Connecticut and Virginia had already virtually promised to do the same.[542] On the day that New York made her offer, Maryland signed the Articles, thus making the Confederation complete (March 1, 1781).

The whole immense western territory, extending to the Mississippi, was now practically secured to the nation. This fact greatly strengthened the bonds of the new Republic, and promised to guarantee its permanency and its growth.[543]

237. The ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory (1787). — After New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut had completed their cessions of land (1781–1787) the Congress of the Confederation took action. By the famous "Ordinance of 1787" — "the Magna Charta of the West" — it erected a Government for the territory northwest of the Ohio.

Among other provisions that ordinance enacted: (1) "That no one should ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in said territory." (2) That schools and the means of education should be "forever encouraged."

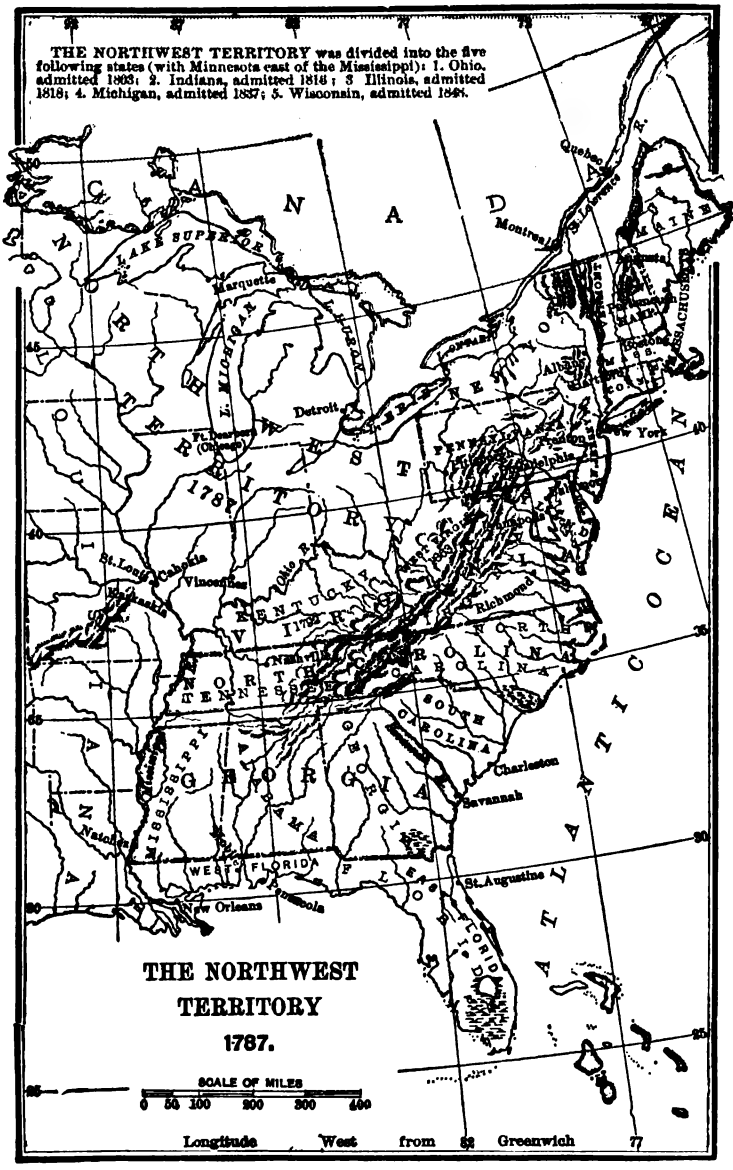
(3) Slavery was absolutely barred out, but slaves escaping from their masters in the States, and taking refuge in the Northwest Territory, were to be seized and returned to their owners.

By this last-mentioned provision this celebrated ordinance, so highly praised by Daniel Webster, did two opposite things: it secured an enormous area to freedom, but it first granted national recognition and protection to the existence of slavery.

(4) Finally, the ordinance provided that all States formed from this territory should be admitted on an equal footing in every respect with the thirteen original States.[544]

From that magnificent domain, embracing about 270,000 square miles, the five great and powerful States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin (together with eastern Minnesota) were formed between the years 1803–1848.

238. Chief provisions of the Articles of Confederation. — The "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" (1781) bound the States (1) to "enter into a firm league of friendship with each other." (2) All votes in Congress were to be cast by States, and each State, whatever its number of delegates, was to have but one vote." (3) Congress reserved the power of declaring war and peace, and of negotiating treaties. (4) Congress, on appeal, was to decide all disputes between the States. (5) The regulation of commerce and the raising of revenue and taxes were left entirely to the control of the separate States. (6) The power to coin and issue money was shared by the general Government with the States. (7) Congress had authority to appoint a "Committee of the States" to manage the general affairs of the nation when the national Legislature was not in session. (8) The final article declared that the Union thus formed should be "perpetual," and forbade that any change should hereafter be made in the above Constitution "unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State."


THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY was divided into the five following states (with Minnesota east of the Mississippi): 1. Ohio, admitted 1803; 2. Indiana, admitted 1816; 3. Illinois, admitted 1818; 4. Michigan, admitted 1837; 5. Wisconsin, admitted 1848.
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY
1787.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Longitude West from Greenwich

239. Weakness of the Confederation. — Under this Confederation Congress consisted of a single house which represented the States but not the people. The national Government had no president; it was simply "a body without a head." Congress could advise, request, implore, but it could not command.

In this last point lay the fatal weakness of the whole system. The national Government could make treaties but could not compel their observance. It could borrow money but could not guarantee that a single dollar of the debt would ever be paid. It could recommend taxation but could not enforce it. It could enact laws but could not punish those who refused to obey them. It could make war but could not raise a single soldier to fight in its defence. In short, as Judge Story has aptly said: "Congress could declare everything, but could do nothing."[545] Its whole attitude was that of a suppliant.

While the Revolution was in progress the pressure of the war forced the separate States to stand by each other; but as soon as that pressure was removed, the States, like a barrel that had lost its hoops, threatened to fall to pieces.

240. State of the country under the Confederation. — When peace was made, Thomas Paine wrote in the last number of his "American Crisis": "The times which tried men's souls are over." It was a great mistake, for the next five years under the Confederation were full of distress, doubt, discouragement, and tendencies to disunion.

Instead of presenting a bold, united front to the world, we exhibited the pitiful spectacle of thirteen little discordant republics bound together with "a rope of sand." Hamilton said: "There is scarcely anything that can wound the pride or degrade the character of an independent nation which we do not experience;"[546] and Washington declared that we were moving upon "crutches" and tottering to our "fall."[547]

241. Attempts of Congress to raise money; quarrels about trade. — The first sign of this fatal weakness was seen when the Government made an attempt to pay the soldiers of the

Revolution a part of what was due them. Congress called on the States to contribute; some responded, others did not. All national demands for money were followed by a like result. Out of over $6,000,000 called for (1782–1786), Congress obtained only $1,000,000.[548]

An attempt was made (1782) to amend the Articles of Confederation so as to give the Government power to levy a five-per-cent duty on imported goods. This measure was proposed in order that the nation might get means to discharge a part of its debt. The assent of all the States was required; all gave their consent but Rhode Island. She refused, mainly on the ground that the proposed duty would fall too heavily on the chief importing States — of which she was then one.

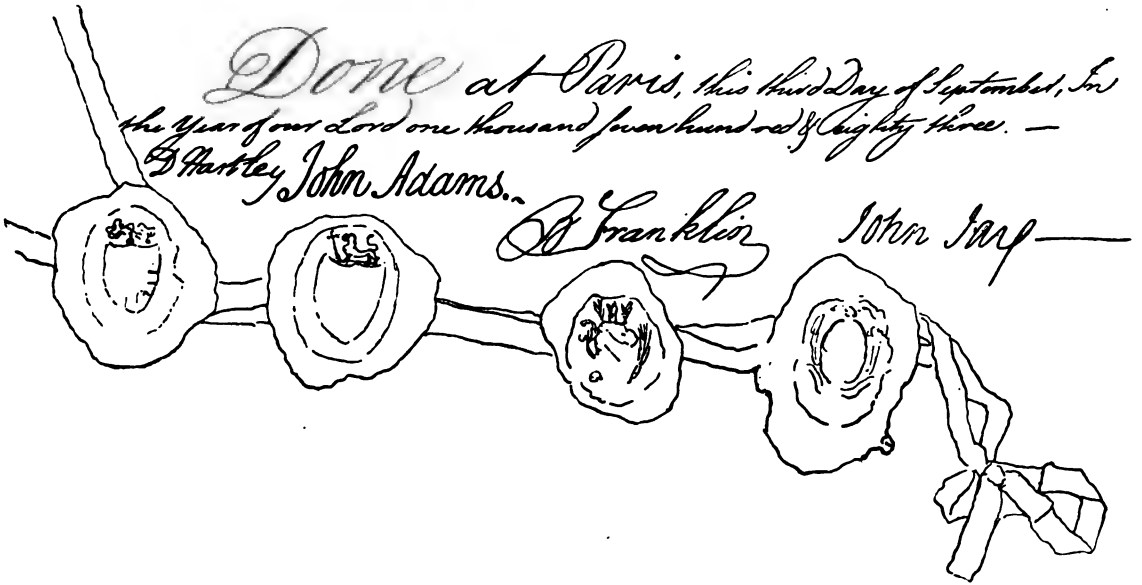
Later (1786), the project was revived in a more limited form. New York then refused unless she could appoint her own collectors. This proviso killed the plan, and Congress had to go on as best it could with an empty treasury.

Quarrels sprang up about foreign and domestic trade. New England wished to exclude all exports and imports by British ships, but the Southern States, having no ships of their own, demanded why they should be asked to give the monopoly of the carrying trade to the North.[549]

The States which had no seaports had to pay tolls to the States where the goods were received. New Jersey was, like a cask, tapped at both ends; it paid toll at New York and at Philadelphia. North Carolina was in a similar predicament.

New York laid a tax on the New Jersey and Connecticut market-boats. New Jersey retaliated by taxing the light-house which New York had built at Sandy Hook on the Jersey shore. Connecticut towns took their revenge by boycotting New York, and refusing to send any more butter, eggs, and early vegetables to that city.[550]

242. Scarcity of specie; Shays's rebellion (1786). — Meanwhile the whole country was distressed by the need of "hard money." There was no mint; and, with the exception of a few



Reduced Copy of the Signatures and Seals of the English and American Commissioners who signed the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, 1783.

coppers, known as "Franklin pennies," Congress had never issued any coins. There was an abundance of "soft money," which both Congress and the States were generally sending out as fast as the printing press could manufacture it; but, unfortunately, this paper money was of uncertain value, and was daily growing to be of no value at all.

This dearth of specie bore down with especial severity on Massachusetts. The taxes averaged, it is said, $200 a year for the head of every family throughout the State. The farmers were poor, and many of them could with difficulty scrape together $50 in cash in the course of a twelvemonth. Large numbers were deeply in debt, and many saw their cattle seized and their homesteads sold by foreclosure of mortgages to satisfy inexorable creditors.

The situation gradually became desperate — especially in the western part of the State. Excited crowds declared that all property ought to be held in common, since all had fought to save it. Taxes were voted to be unnecessary burdens, courts of justice intolerable grievances, and lawyers an unmitigated nuisance. Then came the cry: "Down with the tax collectors! Down with the courts! Down with the wicked lawyers!" "Hurrah for 'soft money' and plenty of it!" [551]

Finally Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the Continental Army, led a force of over a thousand armed men to Worcester (1786), took possession of the town, and prevented the court from sitting. The same thing was done in Springfield and in several other towns. But the governor was a man of decision. He sent General Lincoln, with a strong militia force, against Shays (1787), and the rebellion speedily collapsed.[552] Its progress had greatly alarmed Washington and all friends of order, for they saw that what had happened in one State might happen in another, and they knew that Congress could do nothing.

243. Trouble in the West; threats of secession; Jefferson's letter. — In the West trouble of a still more dangerous kind

arose. Spain closed the Mississippi, and vowed that she would keep it shut until she secured a more satisfactory boundary line for her American possessions in the South. A Kentucky flat-boat man, disregarding the Spanish decree, started boldly down the river with a load of hardware. The Spanish authorities at Natchez stopped him, seized both his boat and cargo (1786), and left him to get back home on foot through the wilderness as best he could.

The impetuous spirit of the Kentucky settlers was roused. They swore that if the river was not opened they would raise an army of backwoods riflemen, who would force their way through and drive the Spaniards into the sea.

John Jay thought that we should not really need the use of the river for many years. He advised Congress to make a treaty with Spain and give up all claim to the navigation of the Mississippi for a quarter of a century. This proposition set the country in a blaze. Indignation meetings were held by the Kentuckians. Many threatened that if Jay's advice was taken they would secede from the Union and form an alliance with Great Britain. On the other hand, there were New England men who vowed they would secede if Jay's advice was not taken. In this emergency Congress stood alarmed, helpless, and ashamed.

Jefferson, then in Paris, wrote (1787) to Madison, saying: "I never had any interest westward of the Alleghanies, and I never will have any, . . . but I will venture to say that the act which abandons the navigation of the Mississippi is an act of separation between the eastern and the western country."[553]

To these difficulties we must add the financial muddle. Many of the States perpetrated frauds in their issue of worthless paper money. This constituted another peril which was undermining the Confederation.[554]

244. The Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia (1787). — Meanwhile Virginia and Maryland had a dispute over the navigation of Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac. The commis-

sioners appointed to decide the controversy failed to agree. Finally it was recommended that a convention should be held at Philadelphia "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

The Convention met (May 29, 1787). All the States were represented except Rhode Island. Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, and Madison were among the fifty-five members. Washington was chosen to preside. The delegates sat with closed doors, keeping their proceedings secret. They decided that instead of revising the Articles of Confederation they would draw up an entirely new Constitution.

245. Conflicting opinions in the Convention. — The Constitutional Convention represented widely different ideas and interests:

(1) A part of the delegates emphasized the necessity of national sovereignty. They urged that all the chief powers, including the control of foreign trade, should be centralized in the general Government. Others vehemently opposed this, and insisted on State sovereignty. Their plan was to grant the Nation the least possible power, but to reserve the utmost possible to the separate States.

(2) There was next the conflict respecting State representation. On this point the large and the small States could not agree. The former naturally demanded representation based on population; the latter demanded that all representation should be equal, so that the vote of the small States should count for as much as that of their more powerful neighbors.

(3) Finally, the great slave-holding States insisted that all slaves should be counted in making up the basis of representation in Congress. The Northern States, on the other hand, contended that only the white population should be counted. There was also a serious difference with regard to the foreign slave-trade. The great majority of the States wished to prohibit it, but the South Carolina delegates absolutely refused to vote for the Constitution unless that trade should be kept open.

New England merchants who were engaged in bringing cargoes of negroes from Africa strongly supported South Carolina.

246. The three great compromises of the Constitution. — The debate on the above-mentioned points was so violent that it twice threatened to break up the Convention. The conflict was finally settled by three great compromises:

(1) It was agreed that the national Government should be invested with powers of the first importance. It was authorized to regulate foreign commerce, levy taxes, and impose custom duties; to declare war, equip armies, and call out the militia to suppress insurrection and enforce the laws of the Union. Finally, it was to have authority to make all laws necessary for carrying into execution the powers conferred upon it.[555]

There was to be a Supreme Court, with a number of lower federal courts, to interpret and apply the provisions of the Constitution and the laws enacted by Congress.

To make this authority effective the executive power was vested in a President of the United States, who was made Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy.

On the other hand, it was agreed (by later action) that all "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." [556]

(2) It was decided that Congress, instead of consisting of a single House, should be divided into the Senate and the House of Representatives. Representation was to be equal in the Senate, — each State to have two members, — while in the House of Representatives it was to be based on population.

(3) It was agreed in making up the basis of direct taxation and representation that five negroes should be counted as equal to three whites, because it was assumed that the productive labor of negroes and of whites would stand in that ratio. Slavery was to be protected by a fugitive-slave provision, and the foreign slave-trade was to remain open for twenty years (until 1808).[557]

247. The Convention adopts the new Constitution, and it is submitted to the States. — When the great work was completed and the last delegates were signing the Constitution, the white-haired Franklin rose. Looking at a figure of a half sun painted on the back of the President's chair, he said: "I have often and often in the course of the session looked at that sun without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a *rising* and not a setting sun." [558]

But the sun had not risen without a cloud. The country was divided between the Federalists, who advocated the Constitution on the ground that the Republic needed a strong government, and the Anti-Federalists, who opposed it because they feared that such a government would be fatal to the individual liberty and welfare of the States and of the people. The Constitution was finally reluctantly accepted by a small majority; [559] but most of the States which then voted to come under the "New Roof" demanded that it should speedily receive important amendments. Virginia expressly qualified her acceptance of the Constitution by asserting the right of the people to resume the powers they had delegated to the general Government. New York did the same.[560]

North Carolina and Rhode Island, fearing that their issues of paper money might be curtailed by the proposed Constitution, rejected it. The Articles of Confederation were still in force. They could not be altered or set aside except by the action of the "Legislatures of *every* State" (§ 238). But notwithstanding this provision, when eleven States had ratified the new Constitution the Congress of the Confederation declared it in force (September 13, 1788). Thus by a peaceful revolution a majority of the States quietly overturned the old form of government. They withdrew from the first Union (in which North Carolina and Rhode Island still remained), and established a new and "more perfect Union." [561] The two above-named States stood out by themselves until the recently adopted Constitution went

into operation, when at length they decided (1789, 1790) to join the majority, and so the last two pillars in the new "temple of liberty" were triumphantly set up.

Meanwhile the first presidential election had taken place. When the electoral votes were opened and counted (February, 1789) in the presence of Congress it was found that George Washington had been unanimously elected President of the United States, and that John Adams had been chosen Vice-President.

248. Summary. — The American colonists began the war of the Revolution (1775), not for the purpose of separating from the English Crown, but simply to obtain their constitutional rights as loyal subjects of that Crown. The contest soon developed (1776) into a war for independence.

Washington conducted the war to a successful termination, and by the treaty of peace (1783) Great Britain fully recognized the independence of the United States of America.

During the first part of the Revolution the Government of the United States was in the hands of the Continental Congress. Later (1781), a "league of perpetual friendship" was formed between the States under the name of the "Articles of Confederation," and the Congress of the Confederation took the management of the affairs of the national Government.

Owing mainly to its lack of needful executive and coercive power this "league" failed to give satisfaction. To remedy this defect, and to form "a more perfect Union," a new Constitution was framed and put in operation by eleven of the thirteen States (1789); shortly afterward the two remaining States decided to ratify it, and thereby entered the new Union.

V.

THE UNION, NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

(1789-1861.)

For Authorities for this Chapter, see Appendix, page xxiv. *The small figures in the text refer to Authorities cited on page* xxx *of the Appendix.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON (FEDERALIST), TWO TERMS, 1789-1797.

249. The inauguration; tasks of the new Government; state of the nation. — Congress assembled in March, 1789, in Federal Hall, New York. Washington's inauguration (§ 247) took place on the balcony of the hall. At its close the bells of the city rang out a joyous peal, the cannon on the Battery fired a salute, and the crowd in the streets shouted: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States."[562]

The President and Congress had formidable tasks before them. It was their duty to set up and start the machinery of the new Government. The outlook was doubtful if not threatening.

A majority of the States virtually demanded the prompt amendment of the Constitution as the price of their allegiance to the Union (§ 247). The nation was deeply in debt, and had neither revenue nor credit. It was necessary that we should be able to defend our rights against foreign attack, and to maintain domestic order, but the army had been disbanded, and we did not possess a single war-ship. At the North, Great Britain refused to give up Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw, and other fortified posts, on the ground that we had not fully carried out our treaty pledges. At the South, Spain denied our

right to the free navigation of the lower Mississippi (§ 243). West of the Alleghanies the Indians were restless, and in the Ohio country they were preparing to attack the whites.

On the sea the Barbary pirates shut the Mediterranean against our commerce; every American vessel which approached the Straits of Gibraltar did so at the risk of losing both crew and cargo.

This condition of affairs at home and abroad gave rise to many perplexing questions; but before Washington retired from office (1797) they had all been settled in a manner which secured peace, at a time when peace was, of all things, most essential to the welfare of the nation.

250. Executive Department; the Cabinet; the Supreme Court; the tariff; tonnage and excise. — The first work accomplished by Congress was the establishment of the departments of State, the Treasury, and War.

Washington chose his cabinet officers from opposite political ranks. He appointed Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; Knox, Secretary of War; Jefferson, Secretary of State; and Randolph, Attorney-General. The first two were Federalists, the last two Anti-Federalists (§ 247).

Congress next organized the Supreme Court of the United States and the inferior federal courts.

Washington appointed John Jay, Chief-Justice. The court over which he presided was entrusted with the highest powers granted to any tribunal in the Republic: that of determining, on appeal, the constitutionality of the acts of Congress, and of the laws of the States (Appendix, p. xiii). Speaking of the services of the Supreme Court, Webster said that without it the Constitution "would be no Constitution, the Government no Government." [563]

Meanwhile Congress was discussing that most urgent of all questions: How to raise a revenue? Should it be obtained by direct tax, or by imposing a duty on imported goods? The decision was in favor of the latter method, and an act

was passed (1789) establishing the first tariff. The preamble declared that the tariff was "for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." [564] The average duty imposed was very low, — less than nine per cent. In the course of the next eight years (1790–1797) this rate was gradually increased until it reached about fourteen per cent.[565] Congress next passed (1789) a tonnage act which levied a tax of six cents per ton on vessels built and owned in the United States and engaged in foreign trade, thirty cents on vessels built in America, but owned abroad, and fifty cents per ton on all other merchant vessels entering our ports.[566] Finding that the payment of the entire public debt would require a larger revenue, Congress enacted (1791) a law which imposed a tax of from twenty to forty cents a gallon on imported liquors, and an excise duty of from nine to thirty cents a gallon on those distilled in the States.[567]

From all sources the Government obtained a total annual revenue of $4,600,000 — a sum then regarded as ample for meeting the expenses of the nation. Since that date the revenue has increased nearly a hundredfold, and the demands on it have multiplied in like ratio.[568]

251. Amendments to the Constitution. — A majority of the States had called for certain amendments to the Constitution (§ 247).

Congress adopted twelve, ten of which were ratified (1791) by the States. They practically formed a "Bill of Rights" "for the more efficient protection of the people" (Appendix, p. xvi).

The first of these amendments (Appendix, p. xvi) is especially noteworthy. It secures freedom of speech and of the press (§ 272), the right of petition, and the free exercise of religion. Finally, it expressly forbids the establishment of a national church. The leading powers of Europe had always considered such a church indispensable to their existence; the founders

of the American Republic were the first to create a government entirely independent of any creed or form of worship.

The tenth amendment (Appendix, p. xvii) ranks in importance with the first. It reserves to the States, or to the people, all "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States." Later, the eleventh amendment (Appendix, p. xvii) restricted the power of the federal courts with respect to the States.

252. Hamilton's report on the public debt. — Early in 1790 Hamilton (§ 250) made his report on the public debt. He divided it into three classes: (1) the foreign debt; (2) the domestic debt; (3) the State debts.

The first amounted to nearly $12,000,000. It represented, in the main, money which we had borrowed during the Revolution from France, Spain, and private capitalists in Holland. The domestic debt of $42,000,000 was the amount which the nation was owing to citizens of the States. Finally, there were the State debts, estimated at $21,500,000.

The entire national and State obligations footed up $75,500,000. Hamilton called this total "the price of liberty." He recommended the Government to make provision for the payment of the whole sum, principal and interest, believing that strict honesty would prove to be the best possible cement for binding the new Union solidly together.[509]

253. Debate on Hamilton's proposition. — Congress agreed without dissent to the first part of the Secretary's scheme. It was not only willing but anxious to pay every dollar which we had borrowed abroad; but many prominent men thought it unwise to offer to discharge the full amount of the domestic debt. The certificates of this debt had fallen to fifteen cents on the dollar, and had been largely bought up by speculators who would be the only ones to profit by their redemption. The supporters of Hamilton's measure contended that the Government should keep its contract to the letter, no matter who held the certificates. By so doing, said they, we shall put our credit

on a firm foundation, and teach future investors in our national securities not to sacrifice them. After protracted debate this argument prevailed, and Congress decided to pay both the foreign and the domestic debt.[870]

The great final contest was over the question of the assumption of the State debts. The Northern States owed the larger part, and were generally in favor of shifting the responsibility of payment to the shoulders of the national Government. The Southern States, which owed far less, declared that Congress had no right to assume these debts, and thereby compel the people of the South to help clear off obligations which they had never incurred. They furthermore contended that it was very doubtful whether the Constitution authorized such an act, which they thought would dangerously encroach on the right and responsibility of the States to manage their own affairs.[871] The advocates of Hamilton's policy replied that the proposed measure was necessary for the common good, and for the complete establishment of the public credit.[872]

254. "Log-rolling"; funding the debt. — Eventually the dispute was settled by compromise. While the discussion was going on, the question of the location of the national capital was under debate. New York wanted it on the Hudson; Pennsylvania, on the Delaware; Maryland and Virginia, on the Potomac. At a dinner given by Jefferson, Hamilton found an opportunity to settle the State-debt and the national-capital questions at one stroke, by bringing into play the backwoods custom: "You help me roll my log, and I will help you roll yours." Two Virginia members of Congress promised to vote for the assumption scheme on condition that a sufficient number of Northern votes should be cast to secure the passage of a bill permanently locating the national capital on the Potomac. This bargain was faithfully carried out. Certain Northern members of Congress voted for an act which established the headquarters of the federal Government at Philadelphia for ten years (1790–1800) and then fixed them permanently at Wash-

ington; on the other hand, certain Southern members voted for the assumption of the State debts. Both measures were successfully carried through.[573] This last act completed the adoption of Hamilton's plan. The whole public debt was funded by issuing new bonds bearing six per cent interest, and pledging the chief part of the revenue, and all of the money received from the sale of Government lands at the West for their gradual redemption. In three years these new bonds rose to par, and the credit of the United States was established abroad and at home.

255. Bank of the United States; the mint. — Hamilton next recommended the establishment of a National Bank, similar to the "Bank of North America" chartered by the Congress of the Confederation (1781), but which soon became a State institution, and which still exists at Philadelphia.

There were then (1791) but four banks in the entire country, and their notes had no circulation outside the cities in which they were situated. Most of the people of the States had never even seen a bank-bill.[574] Hamilton urged that the best interests of the Government and of trade demanded a sound national paper currency, which would pass from hand to hand, and be used throughout the Union.[575]

His project roused a hot debate. Some members of Congress denounced the measure as a scheme for enriching a few greedy capitalists at the expense of the mass of the people. Others declared that it was a political plot for establishing an aristocratic institution intended to pave the way to "a monarchy."[576] The most serious objection came from Madison and his followers. They denied that the Constitution gave Congress power to charter such a bank. The friends of the measure replied that the power, though not specifically granted, was clearly implied in the necessary right of collecting a revenue and paying off the public debt, both of which measures demanded a national currency. The bill finally passed by a large majority. Washington consulted his Cabinet in regard

to signing it. Jefferson and Randolph opposed the measure as unconstitutional; Hamilton and Knox approved it. Hamilton's arguments prevailed, and the "Bank of the United States" was chartered for twenty years (1791–1811).[577] It had its head office at Philadelphia, with numerous branches. It began business with a capital of $10,000,000, one-fifth subscribed by the Government, and the remainder by individuals. The bills of the bank were redeemable in coin, and were receivable for all payments due to the United States.

The following year (1792) the first national mint was established at Philadelphia. It issued coins (1793) — beginning with a hundred and fifty tons of coppers — on the admirable decimal system recommended by Jefferson. The Spanish dollar divided into one hundred parts was taken as the monetary unit. A double standard was adopted, and the ratio of coinage was fixed at fifteen ounces of silver to one of gold, the intent being to maintain strict parity of value between the two metals. It was found, however, that the market value of an ounce of gold was somewhat greater than that of fifteen ounces of silver, and forty years later (1834) Congress changed the ratio to sixteen to one.[578]

256. Rise of political parties; Federalists vs. Republicans. — The heated discussion over the establishment of the national bank (§ 255) gave rise (1792–1794) to two regularly organized political parties — the Federalists led by Hamilton, and the Republicans by Jefferson. The Federalists were succeeded by the National Republicans (1828), the Whigs (1834), and by the Republicans (1854) of the present time; the Jeffersonian party soon (1796) took the broader title of Democratic-Republicans; in time this official party name was popularly shortened to that of Democrats (1828). Jefferson declared that he and Hamilton were pitted against each other "like two fighting cocks";[579] but both heartily supported the Constitution. Their opposition sprang from their different interpretation of that instrument. The Federalists, or "broad-construction"

party, held that the Constitution conferred on the Government every "implied power" necessary to its action and not expressly reserved to the States. The Republicans, or "strict constructionists," contended that the safety of the people demanded that the Government should be bound by the very letter of the Constitution, and that every power should be reserved to the States which was not specially granted to Congress or to the federal authorities.

In this controversy each party could appeal to the Constitution itself for support. The Federalists triumphantly cited what has been called the "elastic article," which confers on Congress powers of very extensive range (Appendix, p. x, last paragraph of Sect. 8). The Republicans confidently quoted the tenth amendment, which lays emphasis on the powers reserved to the States (Appendix, p. xvii).

Socially Hamilton and Jefferson stood in strong contrast. Hamilton, like Adams, believed in restricting the exercise of political rights to "the rich, the well-born, and the able";[580] Jefferson was opposed to all class privileges, and declared that he put his reliance in "the good sense of the people."[581] Hamilton was an aristocrat who admired the stability of the English constitution; Jefferson, a democrat, who sympathized with the French Revolution and its proclamation of "the rights of man." The violent Republicans said that the Federalists were galloping toward monarchy, and nicknamed them "Monocrats"; the violent Federalists called their opponents "Mobocrats," and declared that they were hurrying toward anarchy at break-neck speed.

Both parties speedily invoked the aid of the press. Fenno's "Gazette" defended the Federalists, while Freneau's "Gazette" fired broadsides in behalf of the Republicans. It was the beginning of the modern era, in which Government by newspaper has come to play so conspicuous a part.

257. Debate on slavery; the first fugitive-slave law. — Meanwhile the Quakers and Abolitionists of Pennsylvania had

presented petitions to Congress praying for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, and for the adoption of measures tending to emancipation. These petitions caused intense excitement. Congress, after an angry and prolonged debate, resolved that it had no constitutional authority to prohibit the trade in negroes before 1808 (Appendix, p. x) or to interfere with slavery in the States. Three years later (1793) the first law, based on a provision of the Constitution (Appendix, p. xiv), was enacted for the recovery of fugitive slaves. An attempt was next made to prevent the presentation of abolition petitions, on the ground that they would "drive a wedge into the Union" which would split off the Southern States.[582] But it was impossible to stop the discussion of this burning question, which was destined to go on until finally settled by secession and civil war.

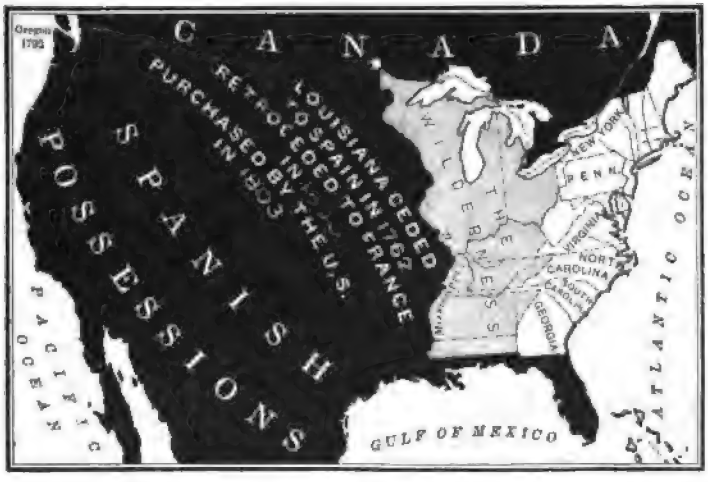
258. The first census (1790); the West; anthracite coal; manufactures; the Oregon country.—The first census (1790) reported a total population of nearly 4,000,000, including about 700,000 slaves. Nearly the whole of this population was east of the Alleghanies; but pioneers from the States had long been crossing the mountains and making scattered settlements in the western wilderness (§ 137), and Pittsburg (§ 169) was then a thriving town of about two hundred houses. Washington saw the importance of opening water communication with the West, and used every means in his power to accomplish the great work.[583]

Through the efforts of Manasseh Cutler, the Ohio Company succeeded in purchasing 5,000,000 acres of Government land, and sent out General Rufus Putnam (§ 207) with a band of emigrants. They began the settlement of Marietta (1788). Late in the same year the building of another group of log huts, farther down the river, marked the beginning of the city of Cincinnati. Speaking of the beautiful Ohio valley, Washington said: "If I was a young man, I know of no country where I should rather fix my habitation."[584]

Three years later (1791) anthracite coal was accidentally dis-

covered at Mauch Chunk Mountain in Pennsylvania (§ 143). The first attempts to use this coal for fuel completely failed, and in Philadelphia it was taken to mend the roads. Later experiments proved that this black stone would burn, and it came slowly into use for manufacturing and heating purposes.

With few exceptions the chief industry of the United States was agriculture. Washington in his first message (1790) earn-



The United States, 1790–1800.

estly recommended the encouragement of manufactures. Hamilton in his famous report on that subject took the ground that, since reciprocity of free trade was not then to be expected, it was the duty of Congress to stimulate the establishment of manufactures by a system of protective duties and bounties; but no action was taken until after the War of 1812.[585]

Commerce was thriving, and every American vessel was in demand. New England shipowners were not only making fortunes in the India trade, but were opening up a traffic in furs between the northern Pacific coast and China. Captain Robert Gray of Boston, one of the pioneers in that trade, first

carried the American flag (1790) round the world. Two years later (1792) he was the first white man to enter that great river of the West which he named the Columbia, thereby securing to the United States its original claim to the Oregon country.[586]

259. The cultivation and manufacture of cotton; the cotton-gin (1793). — Before Washington entered office, Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia, urged Southern planters to turn their attention to cotton-raising. In England improved machines for making cotton cloth had created an immense demand for the raw material, which was then obtained from the East and the West Indies.

A few bags of cotton had been exported (1784) from Charleston to Liverpool, but planters found rice and tobacco their most profitable crops. Several cotton mills had been built in New England, but their rudely constructed machinery gave little promise of success.

Subsequently Samuel Slater, a young Englishman, came to this country, and working from memory alone, set up (1790) for Almy & Brown of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, faithful copies of the best cotton-spinning machines used in the English factories.[587]

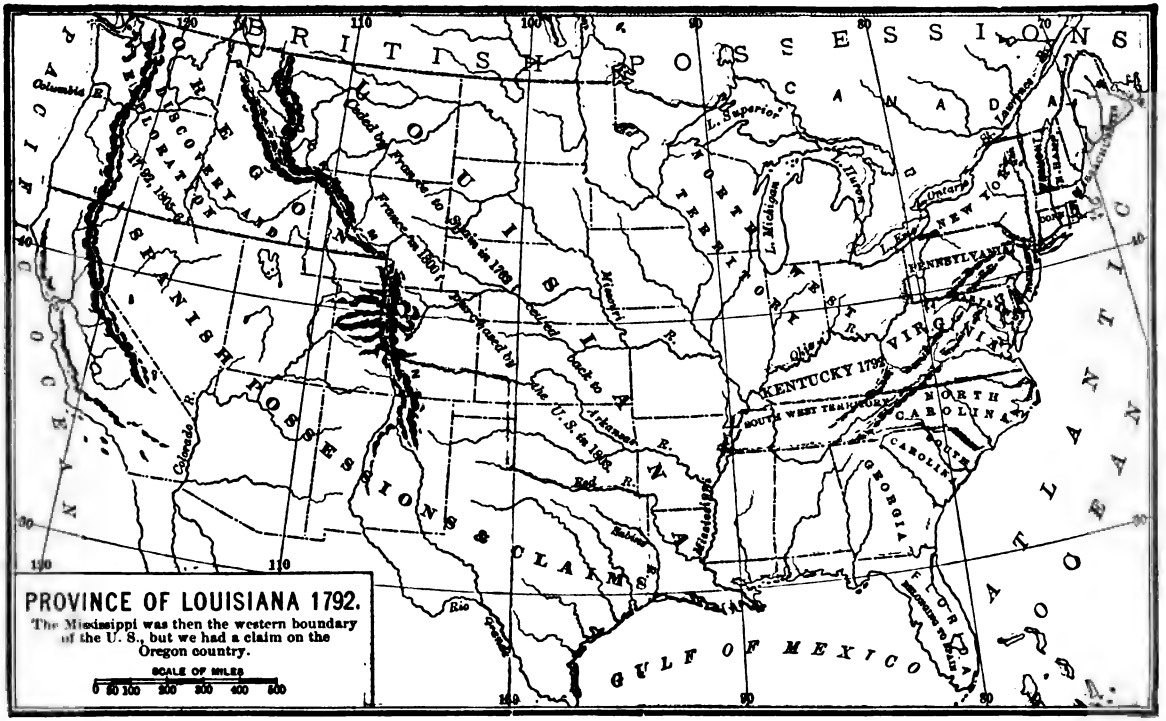
The next question was how to obtain an abundant supply of American cotton. The Southern planters were ready to furnish it, provided some quick and efficient means could be found for separating the seed from the fibre. When done by hand, this process was tedious and expensive, as it took a negro an entire day to clean a single pound ready for market. In 1793 Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, invented the cotton-gin, which would clean a thousand pounds of cotton in a day.[588] His machine wrought an industrial revolution at the South, and produced economic and political results which were felt throughout the Union. 1. It "trebled the value of land" at the South, caused an enormous rise in the price of negroes, and stimulated the rapid settlement of the Gulf States. 2. It made cotton the "king" of Southern staples. In ten years' time we were sup-

plying our own demands and exporting 50,000 bales besides; yet this was only the beginning. 3. Cotton culture encouraged the building of a great number of factories at the North, and gave employment to fleets of vessels engaged in the carrying trade. 4. On the other hand, it killed the hope of gradual emancipation, which the "Fathers of the Republic" had cherished, since it interested both Southern and Northern capitalists in the profits of slave labor, and encouraged the flagrant violation of the law prohibiting the continuance of the foreign slave-trade after 1808.[589] The result was that Whitney's invention contributed powerfully to make the maintenance and extension of slavery for nearly seventy years the most prominent and the most dangerous question in our political history.[590]

260. Fears of disunion; second presidential election. — Meanwhile Washington's first term of office was drawing to a close. He was eager to retire to Mount Vernon. "I would rather," said he, "take my spade in my hand and work for my bread than remain where I am."[591] But Hamilton and Jefferson, though bitter political opponents (§ 256), united in begging him to stand for a second term. Hamilton thought that the Union was not yet "firmly established";[592] Jefferson feared secession and civil war. He declared in his letters that a "corrupt squadron" of Federalists in the Eastern States had formed a plot to overthrow the Republic, and set up a monarchy on its ruins.[593] He wrote to Washington: "The confidence of the whole country is centered in you." "North and South will hang together if they have you to hang on."[594]

Moved by these entreaties Washington consented to become a candidate. He was again unanimously elected (1792); John Adams became a second time Vice-President; but a majority of the new House of Representatives were Jeffersonian Republicans.[595]

261. News from France; proclamation of neutrality (1793). — Shortly after Washington's second inauguration (1793) news arrived that the French Revolutionists had



PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA 1792.

The Mississippi was then the western boundary of the U. S., but we had a claim on the Oregon country.

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200 300 400 500

declared war against Great Britain. In the course of our own Revolution we had made a treaty (1778) with France (§ 219), which bound both nations to an offensive and defensive alliance. By its terms we guaranteed Louis XVI. his possessions in the West Indies, and pledged ourselves to shelter French privateers. Subsequently Louis XVI. was guillotined, and the Revolutionists set up a new Government. Now that the monarchy had been overturned, the question arose whether we were still bound by the treaty we had made with the late King. Were we under obligations to take up arms in defence of the French Republic, or should we declare ourselves neutral?

An immense number of our people naturally sympathized with the movement in France which, following our example, had established a commonwealth based on the "rights of man." The victories gained by the soldiers of the French Republic were celebrated in Boston and Philadelphia with the wildest enthusiasm. The tricolor was displayed side by side with the "stars and stripes," bands played alternately "Yankee Doodle" and the "Marseillaise," and cakes stamped "Liberty and Equality" were distributed to processions of gaily dressed school-children.[596]

Washington felt the gravity of the crisis — a word might involve us in a second war with Great Britain before we had fully recovered from the War of Independence. The President called a cabinet meeting — the first on record — to consider what action should be taken. It seemed probable that, in such a juncture, Hamilton and Jefferson would take opposite sides (§ 256); but after a prolonged discussion, it was unanimously determined that we should remain strictly neutral. A few days later Washington issued (1793) a proclamation announcing that decision.[597]

The opposition press denounced the proclamation in the most violent terms. They accused the President of deliberately breaking a solemn treaty with a friendly power that had helped us in our direst need. They declared that Washington had

usurped authority delegated to Congress, that he hated Republican institutions, and was ambitious to make himself King.[598] Henceforth, for some years, America was divided between a French party and an English party — one shouting for liberty, the other for order. Worn out with the abuse which the extreme Republicans heaped upon him, Washington exclaimed that he would rather be in his grave than be President.[599]

262. "Citizen" Genet. — Meanwhile "Citizen" Genet, the minister from France, had arrived (April 8, 1793) at Charleston. He was a self-sufficient young man, fully conscious of his own importance. He seemed to regard the United States not as an independent power, but rather as an appendage to the French Republic. Without waiting to consult Washington, he forthwith issued commissions to privateers which began capturing British vessels off our coast; he recruited men for the French service, and asked for the immediate payment of our debt to France, although that payment was not yet due.[600] Many people hailed Genet with delight, and numerous so-called "Democratic Clubs" were organized in imitation of the French Revolutionary Clubs.

The Government stopped Genet's privateers, and warned him not to fit out any more. He was told that he must respect the proclamation of neutrality. In his rage he publicly accused the administration of having basely abandoned the cause of France. He threatened to appeal to the people as the true sovereigns in America, in the belief that thousands of eager hands were ready to drag Washington from his house and force him to resign.[601] The President met Genet's mad threats by demanding and obtaining his recall (1794). A reaction speedily set in against the hot-headed Frenchman, and his influence subsided as rapidly as it had risen.

263. The Whiskey Insurrection; Wayne's victory over the Indians. — Not long after Genet's recall the Government resolved to take decided measures for enforcing the excise duty (§ 250) in western Pennsylvania, where there was a great number of

small distilleries. In that section of the State, transportation over the mountains was excessively difficult, and the farmers found it more profitable to have their grain distilled into liquor than to try to haul it in bulk to eastern markets. Coin was so scarce among the people of that part of the country that whiskey was generally used for currency — a gallon jug of it passing for a shilling. The excise duty of nine cents a gallon (§ 250) bore with great hardship on the whole population of the district. They denounced the tax as unconstitutional and oppressive, and drove the excise officers out of the country.[602]

Washington feared that the rioters might threaten "the very existence of Government."[603] He accordingly despatched (1794) an army of 15,000 militia to enforce the law. The troops crossed the Alleghanies and restored order without bloodshed.

Meanwhile an Indian war was raging in the Ohio country. General Harmar had been defeated, and the next year (1791) General St. Clair, who succeeded him, saw his own army cut to pieces. Washington then sent out Anthony Wayne, of Revolutionary fame (§ 224), to conquer a peace. The savages had risen with the determination to kill or expel every white settler. They now found that they must get the better of "the chief that never slept." Late in the summer of 1794, Wayne gained a decisive victory at "Fallen Timbers." The next year the Indians signed a treaty of peace at Greenville, by which they surrendered all claims to the country as far west as the Wabash. This treaty opened the greater part of what is now the State of Ohio to settlement.[604]

264. Danger of war with England; impressment of sailors. — Meanwhile there was serious danger of trouble with England. Since that country and France had been at war (§ 261) both nations had ordered their cruisers to capture American vessels found carrying provisions to either belligerent. These decrees threatened to destroy a large part of our foreign commerce. England as "mistress of the seas" could of course do us more harm than France, and hence the feeling rose higher

against her. But we had another grievance for which England was alone responsible: this was her assumption of the right of search and impressment. The English navy was so short-handed that press-gangs made a business of kidnapping men in the English ports, and the royal Government issued orders to seize British sailors found in the merchant service anywhere on the open ocean. Thousands of these sailors, tempted by the high wages we offered, had shipped on our vessels, and in many cases had become American citizens. England denied the right of these men to leave her service or to swear allegiance to the American flag, and claimed them as her subjects. British men-of-war constantly stopped our merchantmen and mustered their crews on deck for examination. Often it was a difficult matter to tell an English sailor from an American. Generally speaking, the search was simply a farce, and His Majesty's officer carried off as many able-bodied seamen as he wanted without troubling himself about any question of nationality.

265. The sixty days' embargo; the Jay treaty (1795).— The excitement over the action of England was so great that Washington feared the country would drift into war. To protect our vessels from seizure in case hostilities should be suddenly declared, he induced Congress to declare a sixty days' embargo (1794). Before the embargo expired Washington sent Chief-Justice Jay (§ 250) to London to endeavor to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with Great Britain.

The five points we especially wished to secure were: (1) the renunciation of the assumed right of search and impressment; (2) the surrender of the frontier forts held by the British (§ 249); (3) the grant of unrestricted trade with the West Indies; (4) the recognition of the right of neutrals to claim, as we did, that free ships make "free goods," and were, therefore, exempt from seizure; (5) damages for negroes carried off by the British armies at the close of the Revolution (1783), and compensation for the injury our commerce had since received.

Jay succeeded in making a treaty; but it only partially covered the ground, and the commercial articles in it expired, by limitation, in 1804. The treaty, as Jay signed it, provided: (1) that Great Britain should (by June 1, 1796) give up the ports she held on our frontier (§ 249); (2) that she should make compensation for all American vessels which she had seized unlawfully. Under this clause our merchants eventually received more than $10,000,000 in damages; (3) Great Britain agreed to open her ports in the West Indies, but only to vessels of less than seventy tons' burden. These were all the concessions that England would make; she positively refused to pay a copper for the negroes she had carried off, to listen to our claim that free ships should make free goods, or to relinquish her assumed right of search and impressment.

In return for such grants as we obtained we bound ourselves to: (1) pay all debts due to British merchants at the outbreak of the American Revolution; (2) to renounce the transportation to Europe of West India products, and furthermore, of American cotton, of whose importance, as an export (§ 259), Jay seems to have known nothing.

266. Action on the Jay treaty; excitement of the people. —The Senate of the United States in secret session accepted the treaty as a whole, but struck out the article by which we renounced our right to unlimited transportation and exportation, and with it the privilege of West India trade which was part of that article.[605] England agreed to the change.

The Chambers of Commerce of New York and Boston approved the action of the Senate, but large numbers of people throughout the country vehemently condemned the treaty, declaring that England had got the oyster and had left us the shell. In Philadelphia an infuriated mob burned a copy of the treaty and guillotined an effigy of Jay. In New York, Savannah, Charleston, and Portsmouth, there were similar riotous demonstrations.[606]

When it was learned that Washington had actually signed (1795) the obnoxious treaty, the excitement rose to its highest pitch. The extreme journals of the opposition press accused the President of treason, threatened him with impeachment, and ridiculed him as the "step-father of his country."[607] Later the House of Representatives threatened to repudiate the treaty; but Fisher Ames, in what was practically his dying speech, persuaded them to accept it.[608] Then a reaction set in, and eventually many of those who had denounced Jay's work most fiercely, admitted that, all things considered, he had done well in keeping us from war.[609]

267. Algiers; treaty with Spain; Washington's farewell address; presidential election; new States. — In the autumn (1795) we made a treaty with Algiers,[610] by which we bought the release of American sailors held in slavery in Africa and secured the temporary right of pursuing our commerce in the Mediterranean without molestation (§ 249). In taking this humiliating course we simply followed the example of European nations that had long paid tribute to these notorious pirates.[611]

A little later we negotiated a treaty (1795) with Spain.[612] By it we secured: (1) the Florida boundary as claimed by the United States; (2) the free navigation of the lower Mississippi — a point in dispute which had once threatened to dissolve the Union (§ 243); (3) the "right of deposit," or storage, at New Orleans for American exports and imports.[613]

The following year (1796) Washington issued his farewell address. He warned his fellow-countrymen of the danger of sectional jealousy, and of parties divided by geographical lines, and urged the people to devote all their strength to the preservation of the Union.

The presidential election (1796) resulted in the choice of John Adams, Federalist, with Thomas Jefferson, Republican, as Vice-President. The electoral vote stood 71 to 68, and, as Adams obtained only a bare majority, the opposition dubbed him the President of three votes. The closeness of the con-

test showed how much the Democratic-Republican Party had gained. A scurrilous Philadelphia paper dared to congratulate the people on the retirement of Washington, and denounced him as the man who had "debauched" and "deceived" the nation.[614] But the mass of the people remained unflinchingly loyal to the great leader who had secured our independence, and who in all things sought to establish the lasting welfare of the American Republic.

Meanwhile three new States, Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796), had been added, making the total number sixteen. The admission of these States was especially significant in two respects: (1) it showed that Congress had adopted the policy of endeavoring to balance the slave and the free States in their division of political power; (2) these new States had framed constitutions which practically established "manhood suffrage." That fact stood out in striking contrast to the restricted suffrage which still generally prevailed in the original thirteen States (§ 174); it was significant of the democratic tendencies of the time.[615]

268. Summary. — The administration of Washington organized the new Government on a broad and permanent basis. It funded the public debt, and thereby established our national credit at home and abroad. It forced the Indians to come to terms, and so threw open the Ohio country to peaceful settlement. It admitted the first three new States to the Union. It maintained neutrality with the hostile powers of Europe, and by treaties negotiated with England, Algiers, and Spain, it secured the evacuation of the British forts on our frontiers, unrestricted commerce with the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and the free navigation of the lower Mississippi. The invention of the cotton-gin opened up new fields of industry, but fastened slavery on the South, and made its maintenance and extension for many years one of the chief objects with a large body of the people.

JOHN ADAMS (FEDERALIST), ONE TERM, 1797–1801.

269. Inaugural address; trouble with France; the "X. Y. Z. Papers." — The political opponents of Mr. Adams (§ 256) accused him of "an awful squinting" toward "a monarchy."[616] He declared in his inaugural address (§ 267) that the Constitution had always impressed him as "a result of good heads prompted by good hearts," that it had established the system of Government which he had ever "most esteemed," and which he believed best reflected the "power and majesty of the people."[617]

Mr. Adams had no sooner entered office than trouble broke out with France. The ratification of the Jay treaty (§ 265) had thrown the French authorities into a violent rage; they accused us of truckling to England, and retaliated by ordering the confiscation of American ships carrying English goods even when not "contraband of war." This action virtually annulled the treaty of 1778 (§ 219), which had stipulated that "free ships should make free goods." They furthermore decreed that American sailors found on English naval vessels — though impressed into the British service — should be considered pirates, liable to be hanged.[618]

Not satisfied with these extreme procedures, the French Directory ordered our Minister, C. C. Pinckney, to leave Paris, and threatened to subject him to police supervision while he remained.[619] This action forced him to retire to Holland.

In the hope of preserving peace, the President sent out Pinckney, Gerry, and Marshall to treat with France. Talleyrand, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, did not receive our commissioners officially, but sent three emissaries to confer with them privately. Talleyrand's agents had the effrontery to tell the American envoys that certain passages in President Adams's speech to Congress had offended the Directory, and that they must be satisfactorily explained away or toned down. They

next demanded a loan from the United States to the French Republic. Finally, they told our envoys that they would be expected to make the members of the Directory a handsome present. "We must have money," said they, "plenty of money." They intimated that unless a quarter of a million of dollars was promptly handed over to them, orders would be given to French frigates to ravage the American coast.[620] The American commissioners transmitted full reports of these astounding demands to President Adams. He sent (1797) copies of the despatches to Congress, but substituted the letters "X. Y. Z." for the names of Talleyrand's three agents; hence the title, the "X. Y. Z. Papers."[621]

270. The American war spirit roused; France yields.— The publication of the "X. Y. Z." despatches was like the falling of a spark in a powder magazine. The war spirit was roused. President Adams declared: "I will never send another minister to France without assurance that he will be received, respected, and honored, as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation."[622]

Everywhere the cry was heard: "millions for defence; but not one cent for tribute."[623] A few opposition newspapers ventured to suggest that we might as well buy peace from France as buy it from the Algerine pirates (§ 267), but no heed was given to them. Congress appointed Washington commander of a provisional army and voted (1797) to complete without delay the three frigates, "United States," "Constellation," and "Constitution," which were then on the stocks. The first of these ships was launched that year (1797). It was the beginning of the modern American navy. Orders were given for the construction of twelve additional men-of-war, and commissions were issued to the commanders of several hundred private armed vessels. Intercourse with France was suspended, the treaty of 1778 (§ 219) was pronounced void, and the streets rang with the new songs of "Hail Columbia," and "Adams and Liberty."

War, though not formally declared, actually began, and Commodore Truxton of the "Constellation" captured a French frigate (1799). When France saw that America was not to be bullied into purchasing peace, the adroit Talleyrand denied the demands which his agents had insolently made for a loan and gifts (§ 269), and pledged his Government to receive any minister we might think proper to send.

271. A new naturalization act; the Alien and the Sedition Laws. — Meanwhile, the French Revolution, and the reaction against it in Europe, had driven thousands of refugees to our shores. We were glad to welcome many of these men; but others who came were agitators and anarchists. They put liberty and law to shame, and, like the wild ass of the desert, rushed madly about kicking at everything.

To meet this state of things Congress passed a new naturalization act (1798). It required fourteen years' residence (instead of five) for admission to citizenship, and ordered all foreign residents to be registered.[624]

This stringent legislation was followed by the Alien Act (1798) limited to two years' duration. It was directed mainly against French residents, who were suspected of plotting to overthrow the Government. It empowered the President to banish, without trial, all aliens whom he believed to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. Should such a person refuse to obey the order to leave the country, he might be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years.[625] This act was never enforced, but several hundred Frenchmen took the alarm, and set sail for Europe.

Congress next passed the Sedition Act (1798). It was limited to two years, and was directed against the opposition press. It punished, by a fine not exceeding $2000 and by imprisonment not exceeding two years, any person convicted by jury of the three following offences: (1) of having written or published "false, scandalous, and malicious" statements, with intent to bring the President or Congress into contempt; (2) of exciting

against them "the hatred of the good people of the United States"; (3) of stirring up "sedition within the United States." The act granted the accused the right of giving "in evidence in his defence the truth of the matter contained in the publication charged as a libel"; this privilege, as we have seen (§ 69), was not granted by the common law. The act furthermore provided that the jury might "determine the law and the fact." [626]

272. **Opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts.** — A multitude of petitions were at once sent to Congress praying for the immediate repeal of this legislation. The petitioners declared that the Alien Act violated the Constitution by depriving the States of their right to admit foreigners (Appendix, p. x, Sect. 9), and by denying trial by jury. They called for the repeal of the Sedition Act on similar grounds. They considered that it was in direct conflict with the first amendment to the Constitution which guaranteed the freedom of the press (Appendix, p. xvi), though Judge McKean of Pennsylvania had pointed out the fact that the liberty of the press "consists in laying no previous restraint upon publication, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published." [627]

The Alien Act remained a dead letter; but the Sedition Act was vigorously enforced in a number of instances.[628] The two most notable cases (1798) were those of Matthew Lyon, a Republican member of Congress from Vermont, and secondly, that of the proprietor of the "Vermont Gazette." Lyon was accused of having charged President Adams with "ridiculous pomp" and "selfish avarice." He had also publicly read a letter from abroad in which the writer wondered why Congress did not send the President to a "madhouse." [629] Lyon was convicted, sentenced to four months' imprisonment, and condemned to pay a fine of $1000. The proprietor of the "Gazette" made some sharp comments on this sentence, and he was fined and sent to the same "Federal Bastille" where the unfortunate Lyon had nearly frozen in his cell. When their sentences expired, both offenders received an enthusiastic public recep-

tion from those who regarded them as martyrs in the cause of Republican liberty.

273. The Kentucky and Virginia nullification resolutions. — In the South the opposition to the Alien and the Sedition Acts took a very serious form. The legislature of Kentucky adopted (1798) a series of resolutions, which were substantially the work of Jefferson. He believed that the makers of these two laws deliberately intended to violate the Constitution, overthrow the Republic, and prepare the way for the establishment of a monarchy. The Kentucky Resolutions declared that "whenever the general Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force."[630] Virginia followed with resolutions drawn by Madison. They affirmed that when the federal Government exceeds its authority, the "States" (Madison was careful to use the plural) have the right "to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil."[631] Both sets of resolutions professed entire loyalty to the Republic; but both distinctly declared that they regarded the Union simply as a "compact" made between "sovereign States,"[632] and that no "common judge" existed to determine disputes between them and the national Government.

Kentucky and Virginia appealed to their sister States to sustain them. Ten replied. All of them denied the right of a State to assume to sit in judgment on a federal law, and Rhode Island declared that the Supreme Court of the United States alone had authority to decide whether an act of Congress was or was not constitutional.[633]

The following year (1799) the legislature of Kentucky reaffirmed its original resolutions in stronger form, and declared its conviction that "nullification" was the "rightful remedy"; but having stated this principle, the legislature prudently added "this commonwealth will bow to the laws of the Union."[634]

After Jefferson's death South Carolina did actually proceed (1831) to nullify an act of Congress, but Madison then was the

first to protest against the "colossal heresy" of a State's presuming to set the federal Government at defiance.[635]

274. Death of Washington; the new national capital; the presidential election. — Near the close of the century (1799) the country was called to mourn the sudden death of Washington. John Marshall, in announcing the sad intelligence to Congress, spoke of him as the man who "stood first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."[636]

The next Congress assembled (1800) in the unfinished national capitol which was rising on the banks of the Potomac, in the city named in honor of the great leader who had gone to his reward.

In the presidential election Aaron Burr and Jefferson, the Democratic-Republican (§ 256) candidates, each received seventy-three electoral votes. This tie threw the election into the House of Representatives (Appendix, p. xi), which was strongly Federalist. After balloting for a week, ten votes were cast for Jefferson, and four for Burr; under the Constitution, as it then stood (Appendix, p. xi), this made Jefferson President and Burr Vice-President of the United States.

275. The "midnight judges"; fall of the Federalists. — It was known that the next Congress would have a large Democratic-Republican majority. The Federalist Congress, then in session, passed (1801) a Judiciary Act creating eighteen new judges for federal courts.[637] During the last few weeks of his presidency Mr. Adams was busy signing commissions for these judges whom he selected from his own party. It was currently reported that he was occupied in this work up to the last hours of the last night of his administration, and the opposition nicknamed the men he had chosen "the midnight judges."[638]

The office of Chief-Justice having become vacant, President Adams appointed John Marshall, a man of "majestic intellect," to that position. He held it with honor to himself and to the nation for the next thirty-five years. His masterly decisions

on constitutional points favored the "broad-construction" theory (§ 256); the importance of these decisions gained for him the title of the "second maker" of the Constitution.[639]

The passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws (§ 271) destroyed the popularity of the Federalist party, and with the election of Jefferson it fell, never to rise again as a national power. That party had organized the federal Government. Hamilton, Adams, and Marshall were among its leaders, and Washington sympathized largely with their views. They were conservatives, and deemed it prudent to make haste slowly; but they have never been surpassed in devotion to what they believed to be the highest welfare of the American Republic.[640]

276. Summary. — The principal events of Adams's administration were: (1) the difficulty with France, represented by the X. Y. Z. papers; (2) the passage of the new Naturalization Act, followed by the Alien and Sedition Acts; (3) the Kentucky and Virginia nullification resolutions; (4) the death of Washington, and the fall of the Federalist Party.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS, 1801–1809.

277. Jefferson and "political revolution." — Jefferson regarded his election (§ 274) as a "political revolution." It was, he said, "as real a revolution in the principles of our Government as that of 1776 was in its form."[641] The Federalists had held control for twelve years; for the next forty years the opposite party was to stand at the helm and, in Jefferson's words, put the ship on her "Republican tack."[642] Henceforth there were to be "no more coaches-and-six, no more court-dress, no more levees," or "half-monarchical state," as in the days of Washington, but only plain democratic simplicity.

The inauguration at what was called the "palace" — in reality a "palace in the woods" — marked the transfer of power from the conservative Federalist Party which had

successfully organized the Government to the Democratic-Republican Party. The first believed in the "broad construction" of the Constitution (§ 256), in limited suffrage, and laid stress on National Sovereignty; the second advocated "strict construction" (§ 256), and favored manhood suffrage (§ 267); Jefferson, its founder, was strongly inclined to uphold State-Rights, or what was later called State-Sovereignty (§ 273).

These opposite political tendencies were personified in the President-elect and Chief-Justice Marshall (§ 275) as they met face to face on the 4th of March, 1801, one to administer, the other to take, the oath of office (Appendix, p. xii). Jefferson, as a Democrat, was "bent on restricting the power of the national Government in the interests of human liberty"; Marshall, as a Federalist, was resolved to enlarge that power "in the interests of justice and nationality."[643]

278. The United States in 1801; material obstacles to union. — The second census (1800) showed an increase of over thirty-five per cent (§ 258). It reported the total population of the United States, including nearly 900,000 slaves, at a little over 5,300,000 — or less than the single States of New York or Pennsylvania have to-day. The country west of the Alleghanies had perhaps 500,000 settlers. It attracted a steady stream of emigrants, but the wilderness was so vast that Jefferson thought it might require a "thousand generations" to fill it.[644] Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Knoxville, and Louisville were slowly gaining ground. Nashville was then the farthest outpost in the southwest. In the northwest less progress had been made, and it was not until three years later (1804) that Fort Dearborn was erected as a frontier defence on the ground where Chicago now stands.

Facilities for travel and transportation had not essentially improved since Columbus first set foot on the shores of the New World. Only three roads had been cut through the forest to the West. These were of the roughest sort, and wagons did well when they crept over them at the rate of three

miles an hour. In point of time it was actually farther from New York City to the Mississippi then, than it is now from New York to Japan. The long mountain range which separated the eastern from the western settlements seemed to many the geographical limit of the Republic. Nature had apparently allied the West with the Mississippi, and, unless canals could be cut between the Atlantic States and the section beyond the Appalachians, it was difficult to see how both could be held together under a single central Government. Statesmen like Fisher Ames did not hesitate to declare: "Our country is too big for union";[645] and Jefferson, notwithstanding his ardent patriotism, said: "Whether we remain in one confederacy or form into Atlantic and Mississippi Confederations I believe not very important to the happiness of either party."[646]

279. Appointments to office; repeal of Federalist laws; admission of Ohio. — Jefferson had no sooner come into power than he was beset with applications for office. His first intention was to let those who held positions remain undisturbed. "Probably," said he, "not twenty will be removed, and those only for doing what they ought not to have done."[647] But a little later he felt that he must yield to pressure and give his own party "a due participation of office," from which, he declared, they had been wholly excluded.[648] The only way to do this was to remove a certain proportion of Federalists; for, said he, "few die and none resign." He declared that as soon as he had secured to the Republicans "their just share," he should make no more appointments for party purposes, but "gladly return" to that state of things when the only questions respecting a candidate would be: "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"[649]

In the course of the first fourteen months, the President made only sixteen removals without showing cause, and in the whole course of his administration he made, according to Von Holst, but thirty-nine. Other authorities claim that this estimate is far too low; and Jefferson himself stated in 1803

that out of 316 offices only 130 continued to be "held by Federalists." [650]

In its turn Congress proceeded to pass the sponge over the slate of recent Federalist legislation. It repealed the Judiciary, Naturalization, and Excise Acts (§§ 275, 271, 250). The obnoxious Alien and Sedition Laws had already expired by limitation (§ 271). Congress next passed the XIIth amendment to the Constitution (Appendix, p. xvii). It changed the form of the presidential election to that which has ever since been followed.

Early in 1803 the admission of Ohio raised the total number of States to seventeen. Like the three new States which had preceded it (§ 267), Ohio declared in favor of "manhood suffrage." The old States were meanwhile reconstructing their constitutions on the same broad lines. The change was in the direction of Jefferson's principle of trusting everything to "the good sense of the people" (§ 256). It meant that the time was speedily coming when the votes of the masses, rather than those of the select few, would control the destinies of the Republic.

280. Spain cedes Louisiana to France; we purchase the province (1803). — The year following Jefferson's inauguration news was received that Spain had ceded Louisiana (§ 172) to France. This change hemmed us in between two powers hostile to each other, — Great Britain on the north, and France on the south and west. Jefferson fully realized the gravity of the situation. He wrote to Chancellor Livingston, our minister at Paris, saying that although we had always regarded France as our "friend," yet we could no longer do so if she held New Orleans. The possession of that spot, added Jefferson, makes her "our natural enemy." Through New Orleans, said he, the produce of three-eighths of our territory "must pass to market. France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance." [651]

It was the intention of Bonaparte to establish a military despotism at New Orleans. "From that moment," said Jefferson,

"we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."[653] Much as he disliked war, he declared that, rather than abandon our claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi and see the Western States severed from the Union, we would draw the sword on France and "throw away the scabbard."[658]

But the President hoped to come to an amicable understanding with Bonaparte. "Peace," said he, "is our passion."[654]

The United States in 1803 after the Purchase of Louisiana.

(A section of West Florida was claimed as part of the purchase. Congress had divided (1800) the territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi into "Indiana Territory" and the "Northwest Territory"; the "Oregon Country" was held jointly with Great Britain.)

Monroe was despatched to Paris to join Livingston. The commissioners were instructed to offer as high as $10,000,000 for New Orleans and the East and West Floridas — or at any rate to secure, if possible, the permanent "right of deposit" (§ 267) at New Orleans. Before Monroe reached his destination, Bonaparte had resolved to renew the war with England (§ 264); and to our amazement offered to sell us not only New Orleans, but the entire province of Louisiana. The commissioners negotiated a treaty of purchase for $15,000,000.

Thus, at one stroke of the pen (1803), as Jefferson declared, we "more than doubled the area of the United States."

The boundaries of Louisiana were not clearly defined, and it was a question whether Texas or any part of West Florida was included in the purchase. The treaty, as it was finally agreed upon, gave us the absolute control of the Mississippi, and secured to us the whole region west of that river and north of Texas, as far back as the Rocky Mountains. The foreign population of Louisiana held slaves at New Orleans and St. Louis. The purchase treaty virtually recognized their legal right to such property, and guaranteed that all free white inhabitants of the territory should be incorporated as citizens of the Union.

281. Question of the constitutionality of the Louisiana purchase. — Jefferson, as the leader of the "strict-construction" party (§ 256), admitted that the Constitution did not authorize the Government to purchase new territory, yet he felt constrained to sign the treaty. He believed that the preservation of the Union depended on keeping the navigation of the Mississippi open.[655] There was no time to discuss questions of limitations of authority, and the President resolved, as he said, "to shut up" the Constitution until the acquisition of Louisiana should be ratified; then he proposed asking the nation to justify the act by an amendment to that instrument, but the amendment was never called for.[656]

The extreme Federalists opposed the ratification of the purchase of "an unmeasured world beyond the Mississippi."[657] They declared that it would destroy the existing political balance, and render the New England States insignificant.[658] Others feared that it would increase the power of slave representation, while at the same time it would dangerously weaken us by greatly extending the line which we must defend against foreign invasion.[659] Then, too, there was the question whether the federal Government could successfully exert its power over such an enormous territory.

282. Secession plot; Quincy's threat; results of the Louisiana purchase. — A little later a few ultra Federalists endeavored to organize a plot for separating New England and New York from the Union. Their purpose was to form an independent Northern Confederacy; but the conspiracy failed to receive any substantial encouragement.[660]

When the question of the admission of the lower part of Louisiana as a slave State (§ 280) came up for debate (1811), Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts violently opposed it in the House. He said: "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of the Union; that it will free the States from their moral obligation, and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must." [661]

Senator Grundy of Tennessee admitted, a little later, that when the recently acquired territory should become "fully peopled," the Northern States would "lose their power," and would then be at the mercy of the Southern section.[662] This was the danger which the representative from Massachusetts had in mind. His speech was the first unmistakable announcement in Congress of the doctrine of secession. But Quincy in this respect practically stood alone, for Massachusetts gave its assent to the admission of the new State.[663]

In reviewing the acquisition of the province of Louisiana, we see that it eventually had five important results: (1) it secured to us the port of New Orleans, the entire control of the Mississippi, and it doubled the area of the United States; (2) it strengthened the bond of Union in the Southwest; (3) it gave new force to arguments for internal improvements — the building of roads and canals to connect the East and the West; and, taken in connection with the acquisition of California, it later made the Pacific railway a necessity; (4) it added a foreign population that held slaves at New Orleans and at St. Louis (§ 280), and it opened up an immense field for the "conflict

between slavery and freedom"; (5) finally, it weakened "strict construction" (§ 256) and encouraged the opposite interpretation of the Constitution.

283. Expedition of Lewis and Clark (1804–1806). — In the spring following the purchase of the province of Louisiana, Jefferson sent out Lewis and Clark to explore the Missouri to its source, and to push forward to the Pacific. The expedition started in three boats from St. Louis (May, 1804). The party spent the entire summer laboriously working their way up stream against the powerful current, their average progress not exceeding nine miles a day. At the end of the season they went into winter quarters at a point not very far above the site of the present city of Bismarck, North Dakota.

The next spring, taking an Indian woman for their guide, they set out again on their journey through the great "Lone Land." By midsummer they had passed through the wild gorge of the Missouri known as the "Gates of the Rocky Mountains," and soon afterward reached the site of what is now the capital of Montana. In August (1805) they arrived at a point where they could bestride the head-waters of that great stream which they had so long been ascending and which had seemed to them well-nigh endless.

A few days later they stood on the "Crown of the Continent," in the midst of that wonderful knot of ridges and peaks from which rise the Columbia (§ 258), the Colorado, and the Missouri. Early in October (1805) they embarked in log canoes on the Clear Water, a tributary of the Columbia, and began to paddle their way downward toward the setting sun. In November they heard the roar of breakers through the fog; when it lifted they beheld the Pacific — that ocean, says Lewis, which was "the object of all our labors, the reward of all our anxieties."[864] On their return Clark's party struck northward and came down the valley of the Yellowstone; the joint expedition reached St. Louis in the autumn of 1806. (See map, § 405.)

In the course of about two years and a half the exploring party had travelled over eight thousand miles, through a region which no white man was known to have crossed before. They had found practicable passes through the Rocky Mountains, confirmed our claim to the Oregon country (§ 258), and opened the way to the valley of the Columbia and the Pacific slope. Furthermore, they furnished us with our first definite knowledge of that magnificent territory in which ten great States, with a population of many millions, have since "arisen in the wilderness."[665] Meanwhile Zebulon Pike, another explorer, had penetrated (1806) to the interior of what is now Northern Minnesota and discovered the head-waters of the Mississippi.[666]

284. Prosperity of the country; the presidential election. — When Jefferson entered office the national debt amounted to nearly $83,000,000, and the rate of taxation was heavy; by judicious management Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, paid off a large part of the debt, and at the same time reduced the taxes. Meanwhile commerce was making rapid gains, and the country generally enjoyed a high degree of prosperity.

The Democratic-Republicans nominated Jefferson (1804) for a second term; he was elected (with George Clinton as Vice-President) by an overwhelming majority over C. C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate, the electoral vote standing 162 to 14.

Jefferson said, "the people in mass have joined us"; the truth was that a fusion of parties had gradually taken place, the Federalists having been Republicanized, and the Republicans or Democrats Federalized.[667]

285. Jefferson's second inauguration (1805); "internal improvements"; peace with Tripoli. — In his second inaugural Jefferson bade the people look forward to the extinction of the entire public debt. Then, he said, an amendment to the Constitution would enable Congress to expend the surplus revenue in making roads, canals, and other "internal improvements." The next year (1806) Congress, without waiting for such an amendment, appropriated $30,000 toward constructing "a

national road" from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio River; but the first mile of this famous highway was not begun until five years later (1811).

Before the year closed our navy (§ 270) gained a brilliant triumph over the Barbary pirates (§§ 249, 267). When near the end of Adams's administration Captain Bainbridge was sent out (1800) to pay the Dey of Algiers his annual tribute (§ 267); that potentate treated him with such insolence that Bainbridge indignantly wrote: "I hope I shall never again be sent to Algiers with tribute unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouths of our cannon."[668] Shortly afterward the Pasha of Tripoli declared war against us because we had not promptly met his exorbitant demands for money.

Jefferson despatched a squadron to blockade Tripoli; the vessels drew too much water to be very effective, but Rodgers, Decatur, and Hull made themselves a memorable record. When the squadron was reinforced with lighter vessels, Commodore Preble (1805) speedily compelled the Pasha to drop his demands and beg for peace; a final treaty, however, was not made with the Barbary States until a number of years later (1814).

The Pope was especially pleased at the chastisement which Preble had inflicted on the Mohammedan corsairs, and declared that the American officer had done more to humble those insolent barbarians than all the Christian nations of Europe had ever accomplished.[669]

But the most important result of the war with the pirates of the Mediterranean was that it served as a training-school to our victorious naval commanders for the War of 1812.[670]

286. The first steamboat on the Hudson (1807) and in the West (1811). — We have seen (§§ 258, 278) that one of the most perplexing questions in the growth of the United States was how to secure cheap and rapid communication and transportation between the East and West. The political unity of the nation seemed to depend on the successful solution of this difficult problem. It had taken Lewis and Clark (§ 283)

a full year to cross the national territory west of the Mississippi. There was something disheartening in the thought of endeavoring to bring such an unbounded wilderness under the control of a Government which had its capital on the Atlantic slope, thousands of miles away. Few men of that time seriously believed that a Union so vast could be permanently maintained;[671] certainly Jefferson did not, for one (§ 278).

Meanwhile an inventor was devising the first successful means for navigating the great rivers and inland waters of the United States. His work would go far toward making it possible to unite the two sides of the continent.

Many experiments had already been made in propelling boats by steam. At one time John Fitch and Oliver Evans seemed likely to accomplish it, but they were doomed to disappointment. Latrobe, the most eminent engineer in the country, reported as late as 1803 that nothing had been done which promised practical success.[672] Fitch came nearest to it; but lack of capital forced him to abandon the field, and in despair he took his own life. He left this prophecy: "The day will come when some more powerful man will get fame and riches by my invention." Robert Fulton was that "more powerful man." Aided by Chancellor Livingston's purse, he built and launched the "Clermont" at New York. The vessel was a side-wheel steamboat equipped with an engine imported from England. Late in the summer of 1807 Fulton made his first voyage up the Hudson to Albany.

Sailing vessels usually took three days to reach that point; Fulton accomplished the journey in thirty-two hours. The problem was solved — a vessel had at last been constructed that would push its way against wind, tide, and current. The steamboat soon began making regular trips on the Hudson, and Fulton and Livingston secured the monopoly of steam navigation in New York State for twenty years.

In 1811 Fulton launched a steamboat at Pittsburg which made the voyage to New Orleans. Within seven years from

that date steamboats were carrying passengers and freight not only on the Mississippi and its tributaries, but on the Great Lakes. Fulton said with truth that he had given the country "the most efficient instrument yet conceived for developing the West";[673] or, as he might have added, for maintaining the stability of the Union.

287. The Burr conspiracy. — Singularly enough, while Fulton was occupied in perfecting the material means for binding the country together, a formidable plot against the nation's life was discovered. Aaron Burr, while Vice-President of the United States (§ 274), challenged Hamilton, his political opponent and personal enemy, and killed him in a duel (1804). Burr was indicted for murder and fled South to escape arrest. His prospects were ruined, and he became desperate. Miranda, a citizen of one of the Spanish provinces in South America, was then concocting a scheme for overthrowing the power of Spain on the American continent.[674] Miranda's expedition may have suggested the project which Burr conceived. His plan was to raise an armed force in the Southwest, drive out the Spaniards from Mexico, and establish a great Southern Confederacy composed of the States and territories west of the Alleghanies, united with the Mexican possessions. He hoped to get the aid of Great Britain in carrying out this gigantic plot, and endeavored to persuade General Wilkinson, commander of the United States Army in the West, to join him.[675] Burr had made the acquaintance of an Irish gentleman named Blennerhasset who resided on Blennerhasset Island in the Ohio, nearly opposite Marietta. The smooth-tongued conspirator easily induced the latter to mortgage his estate to raise money for carrying out the scheme. By this means Burr obtained boats and arms, and recruited about a hundred men.

General Wilkinson, who was then at New Orleans, sent information of the plot to the President.[676] Jefferson issued a proclamation (1806) ordering the arrest of the expedition.

Burr hastily disbanded his men at Natchez, and took to the woods. He was speedily apprehended, and was tried (1807) for treason before Chief-Justice Marshall. Marshall ruled that no satisfactory evidence of overt treason had been offered, and the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty."[677] Burr soon afterward disappeared from public life, and died in obscurity in New York many years later.

288. The French and English war vs. American commerce. — After a brief peace (§ 280) Bonaparte and George III. had resumed hostilities (1803). Fleets of English cruisers swept the French merchantmen from the seas, and thus threw all trade between France and her colonies into the hands of American shipowners. In order to prevent France from getting the relief given by our merchant vessels, England revived the "Rule of 1756." That rule declared that no European nation which shut its colonial ports against freedom of trade in time of peace (as France did in common with other mother-countries) should be permitted to open its ports to direct neutral trade in time of war.[678] By enforcing that regulation England hoped to destroy all commercial communication between France and her foreign possessions, and so cripple her enemy's resources for carrying on the war. This measure, however, proved ineffective, and indeed, so far as America was concerned, it actually increased our commerce. For though our merchantmen could no longer act as direct carriers between France and her colonies, nothing prohibited us from bringing the products of the French West Indies to the United States and then shipping them to France as American exports. By taking that course we easily evaded the "Rule of 1756," and obtained double freights on our own terms.[679]

Later, when Spain and Holland became involved in the European conflict, the neutral ships of the United States secured a practical monopoly of the carrying-trade of the world.[680] Sir James Stephen denounced this indirect commerce carried on by American shipowners as a fraud committed under the pro-

tection of a neutral flag and as a species of "war in disguise."[681] England then (1805) declared this trade an evasion of the spirit of the "Rule of 1756," and ordered her cruisers to put a stop to it.[682] This decision virtually restricted American commerce to American productions.[683]

289. British "Orders in Council" vs. Napoleon's Decrees; the "Leopard" and the "Chesapeake."—The next year (1806) Great Britain issued an "Order in Council," which declared the coast of Europe from Brest to the Elbe in blockade. Napoleon retorted with his "Berlin Decree" (1806), proclaiming the blockade of the British Isles. England retaliated by a new "Order in Council" (1807) which forbade Americans or other neutrals carrying any products to France or her allies except on two conditions. These were that such vessels should undergo search by English authorities for goods "contraband of war," or that they should enter an English port and pay duties on their cargoes.

Napoleon at once issued (1807) his "Milan Decree." It prohibited all trade with Great Britain or her colonies, and ordered the seizure of any vessel which should submit to search by England or should pay any duties to the English Government. The Emperor's threat, however, did not prove very serious, for the battle of Trafalgar (1805) had so crippled the French navy that they could not enforce his decree on the Atlantic.

Meanwhile English men-of-war blockaded our ports, searched every out-going vessel, and impressed great numbers of American seamen (§ 264). Congress remonstrated, and put in force (1807) a Non-Importation Act which shut out English goods from American markets; but search and impressment continued to go on as before. As a matter of fact many sailors deserted English men-of-war when in our ports, and openly entered the American service. England was determined to recover her own seamen, but stated that she had no intention of seizing ours. On the other hand, we declared that we had no desire to harbor

or employ her runaway men; but notwithstanding these avowals, neither government found an effective remedy for the grievance of which it complained.

Finally matters reached a climax. Vice-Admiral Berkeley of the British service, having lost a number of his seamen by desertion, issued orders to stop the American frigate "Chesapeake" and search for the missing sailors. In taking this action, he declared that he recognized our right to pursue the same course toward any English man-of-war.[684] Under these instructions His Majesty's frigate "Leopard" (1807) overhauled the "Chesapeake" and forcibly removed four seamen, one of whom was hanged at Halifax as a deserter. This outrage, said Jefferson, roused the United States to a pitch of excitement not equalled "since the battle of Lexington."[685]

The President at once issued a proclamation (1807) ordering all British-armed vessels to leave our waters; and Congress demanded reparation for the insult to our flag. Eventually the English Government restored (1811) the three surviving sailors to the decks of the "Chesapeake."[686]

290. The Embargo Act (1807); opposition to the act in New England. — It now seemed probable that both England and France would impose new and more stringent restrictions on American trade with Europe. In such a crisis war was imminent. Jefferson, therefore, resolved to try the effect of what he called "peaceable coercion." Before news of the Milan Decree was received (§ 289) he recommended Congress to pass an unlimited Embargo Act. Such a measure by detaining our vessels in port would save them and their crews from capture; next it would, it was hoped, cut off large supplies of food from both combatants and perhaps starve them into making terms with us. Congress passed the act late in 1807, and subsequently strengthened it by additional legislation (1808–1809). The embargo entirely closed our ports to all trade with foreign countries. American merchantmen were forbidden to sail. Coasting and fishing-craft were permitted to go out, but only

on condition that their owners gave bonds in double the value of vessel and cargo that they would not land goods or produce outside of the United States.[687]

The opposition party denounced the suppression of commerce as suicidal. They declared that it would be far better to risk vessels and crew in foreign trade than to give up that trade altogether. They spelt the hated word "embargo" backward and so formed it into the "O-grab-me Act." They called it the boa-constrictor which was crushing the life out of every American industry; and the youthful Bryant wrote a satirical poem on it, for which there was a great demand. Prices dropped ruinously; the farmer could not sell his wheat, the planter found no market for his cotton, rice, or tobacco. But the heaviest loss fell on New England, where capital was most largely invested in commercial pursuits. The once busy ports seemed smitten with a pestilence; dismantled ships rotted in the docks, merchants became bankrupt, and thousands of sailors were reduced to beggary. In a single year our exports fell off from $49,000,000 to $9,000,000.[688] The custom-houses were closed, and the Government ceased to draw any revenue from commerce. Smuggling soon sprang up on an extensive scale on the Canada and the Florida borders.

291. The "Force Act"; Napoleon and the embargo. — To stop evasion of the embargo, Congress passed the "Force Act" (1809). It prohibited the loading of any boat or vessel except by permit from the collector of the port, and under the eye of a revenue officer.[689] Furthermore, the collector had orders to seize produce or goods found in any wagons or other vehicles going toward the seacoast or toward the boundary line, and hold them until the owner gave bonds that they should not be taken out of the country.[690] To prevent resistance the act authorized the President to employ the land and the naval forces of the United States and the State militia in carrying out the law.

In New England the "Force Act" was denounced as despotic, and the Legislature of Massachusetts virtually nullified it by declaring it "unconstitutional and not legally binding."[691] The Federalist newspapers of Boston came out in mourning: one said, "Liberty is dead"; another took for its motto, "Resistance to arbitrary laws is duty to God." Numerous handbills were distributed, warning the people that the Constitution and the Union were destroyed, and that they must now choose between "civil war or slavery."[692] A hundred towns in Massachusetts sent in resolutions to the General Court condemning the President and the embargo.[693] In the other New England States the same spirit manifested itself.[694]

Abroad the embargo failed to coerce the combatants into respect for American rights. Our minister to Paris wrote that in France it was "not felt," and that in England it was "forgotten."[695] Napoleon declared that he positively liked it, and ironically added that he would help President Jefferson enforce it. He accordingly ordered the confiscation of all American vessels then found in French ports, or that should enter them later,[696] on the ground that they had violated the embargo.

292. Results of the embargo; its repeal (1809); Non-Intercourse Act; presidential election. — But at home the embargo had two advantageous results: one economic, the other political. The shutting out of European goods and the prohibition of commercial intercourse forced the capital and industry of New England to establish home manufactures. The looms of the farmers' wives were soon able to supply "two-thirds of the clothing and house-linen of the United States outside of the cities," while in less than two years, the number of spindles in the cotton-mills increased from "eight thousand to eighty thousand." Shoe, hat, and other factories prospered; Massachusetts sent nails, and Connecticut tinware and clocks, to all parts of the country.[697] Furthermore, many new and important industries sprang up not only in New England, but in other States.

Politically the embargo postponed war for a number of years. But whatever advantages were reaped from Jefferson's "peaceable coercion," it created dangerous irritation in the Northeast. John Quincy Adams at length (1809) told the President that the embargo could no longer be safely enforced in that quarter. He stated that he had good reason to believe that some leading New England Federalists had formed a plot to detach the Northeastern States and to enter into an alliance with England. The men who were accused of being engaged in this plot indignantly denied it;[698] but the pressure on the Government for the removal of the embargo became irresistible. Jefferson said a majority in Congress were convinced that they must choose between repeal or civil war.[699] The result was that the law was repealed early in 1809. Congress then (1809) passed a Non-Intercourse Act, or partial embargo, which opened our ports to all nations except England and France.[700]

Meanwhile the presidential election had taken place. The chief candidates were James Madison, Democratic-Republican, and C. C. Pinckney, Federalist. Madison was elected, with George Clinton as Vice-President; the electoral vote stood 122 to 47.

Jefferson had lost his popularity, and was anxious to retire to "the shades of Monticello." "Never," said he, "did a prisoner released from his chains" "feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power."[701]

293. Summary. — Jefferson's administration began, as he believed, a "political revolution." By his election the Republican or Democratic Party came into power, and continued to hold it without a break for nearly forty years. Under Jefferson the United States effected the purchase of Louisiana, by which the area of the Republic was more than doubled, and the question of slavery extension west of the Mississippi was opened. Soon afterward the Lewis and Clark expedition explored the far West and helped to confirm our title to the Oregon country. Fulton's steamboat made rapid communication with the greater

part of the country possible, and so materially strengthened the bonds of Union which the Burr conspiracy attempted to break. Abroad the insolence of the Barbary pirates was humbled. Later, the interference of England and France with our foreign trade joined to impressment disputes led to an embargo which produced important economic and political effects; when the Embargo Act was repealed, it was succeeded by the Non-Intercourse, or partial embargo, Act.

JAMES MADISON (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS, 1809-1817.

294. Temporary renewal of trade with Great Britain. — Not long after Madison's inauguration (§ 292) Erskine, the English Minister at Washington, announced himself "authorized to declare" that the British "Orders in Council" (§ 289) would be withdrawn on the tenth of June. Madison at once issued a proclamation which suspended the Non-Intercourse Act (§ 292) and renewed friendly relations with England. Great were the rejoicings among shipowners and sailors. Hundreds of vessels were quickly made ready for sea, and in a few weeks upwards of a thousand American merchantmen had left our ports laden with "the accumulation of nearly two years' produce."[702]

Three months later, despatches came from England stating that Erskine had not followed his official instructions, and that the "Orders in Council" still remained in force. President Madison, angry and perplexed, found himself "under the mortifying necessity" of issuing a new proclamation (1809) reviving the Non-Intercourse Act (§ 292) against Great Britain.[703]

295. The Macon Act; Napoleon's policy. — The next spring (1810) Congress passed the Macon Act. It took off restrictions on commerce, but so far as England or France was concerned, it forbade intercourse with the nation that continued to maintain measures hostile to our trade.[704]

Napoleon, by his Rambouillet Decree (1810), had ordered the sale of American ships and cargoes to the value of $10,000,000, and had thrown several hundred American sailors into prison.[705] While the Emperor was making ready to sweep this goodly sum into his "strong box," he received a copy of the Macon Act. He immediately assured our Government that he loved the Americans, and he pledged himself to revoke or suspend all of his decrees (§ 289) against our commerce, provided Great Britain would withdraw her "Orders in Council" (§ 289), or that the United States would cause its "rights to be respected by the English."[706] President Madison was so moved by the Emperor's assurance that he issued a proclamation declaring all trade restrictions against France revoked. Later, when it was found that Great Britain had no intention of withdrawing her "Orders in Council," Congress reaffirmed non-intercourse with that country. Napoleon had won his game. First, he had embroiled us anew with England; secondly, by his pretended good will, he had drawn more of our ships into the trap set to catch them when they should arrive in French ports; finally, he kept his cruisers busy burning or plundering our vessels on the ocean.

296. Tecumseh and the "Prophet." — While our relations with England and France were becoming strained almost to the war-point, a decisive battle with the Indians was fought in the West. It was perhaps inevitable that conflicts should spring up between the Western settlers and the aborigines. The interests of the two races clashed (§ 31). The whites were eager to get possession of the Indian hunting-grounds, and many of the Red Men, debased by drink and harassed with debt, were ready to sell their lands for the first offer. The better class of Indians saw clearly that unless this process could be checked, the tribes must soon choose between starvation and emigration. Tecumseh and his brother, the "Prophet," two Indians of the Wabash Valley, were the leaders in a great movement of reform and reorganization.[707] Their object was to sup-

press the use of liquor among their people and to create a league of all the Northern and Southern tribes. In this proposed Indian republic a congress of warriors was to have absolute control over all lands, so that none could be sold without their consent. As a center for this movement, Tecumseh and the "Prophet" founded a village in the Territory of Indiana at the mouth of Tippecanoe Creek, a tributary of the Wabash.

297. **Harrison and Tecumseh; Tippecanoe.**—William Henry Harrison, the military Governor of the Territory, had recently (1809) purchased for the United States an immense tract of land from remnants of tribes in the Wabash Valley. Tecumseh believed that this purchase had not been fairly made. He said to Governor Harrison: "You are continually driving the red people; at last you will drive them into the Great Lake."[708] He insisted that the recent land cession should be annulled; in that case he pledged himself to be our faithful ally; otherwise he threatened to make war. Believing that war was inevitable, General Harrison, late in the autumn of 1811, advanced toward Tippecanoe village with a force of about a thousand men. The Indians attempted to surprise him; a battle ensued, in which the attacking party was decisively defeated. Harrison then advanced and burned the deserted Indian village. At the time of the battle Tecumseh was absent in the South; when the War of 1812 began, he joined the English forces in Canada. The victory of Tippecanoe was important, because it effectually checked Tecumseh's project of establishing a powerful and perhaps hostile Indian confederation.

298. **The "Little Belt"; the war party; the Henry letters.**—Meanwhile (1811) the English sloop-of-war "Little Belt" had attacked, either purposely or by mistake, the American frigate "President." The "Little Belt" got the worst of the battle and barely escaped destruction.[709] Our grievances against England were great. Aside from her exercise of search (§ 289) and her impressment of from six to ten thousand of our sailors, she had captured since 1803[710] more than nine hundred of our vessels.

On the other hand, France had confiscated or destroyed American property worth many millions, had cast hundreds of our sailors into prison, and when we asked for redress Napoleon had deliberately deceived and insulted us (§ 295).

A strong war party, led by Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, was growing up in the South. They held, with Madison, that "the original sin against neutrals" lay with Great Britain.[711] The "war hawks," as the Federalists nicknamed them, called on the country to rise in arms against the King our fathers fought. We had gained our independence on land; they declared that the time had now come to gain it on the sea.

The President was reluctant to draw the sword, but he at length yielded to pressure.[712] In the spring of 1812 he sent to Congress a number of letters which he had bought for $50,000 from John Henry. Henry was an Irish adventurer who asserted that Governor Craig of Canada sent him (1809) as an emissary to New England at the time of Jefferson's embargo (§ 290). His mission then was to find out whether the Federalists favored secession from the Union.

His letters were copies, and not "honest copies," of the original correspondence with Governor Craig.[713] They contained nothing which "compromised any one except Henry himself."[714] But they served to excite the war party in Congress to still greater exasperation against the policy of England,[715] and an embargo of ninety days was declared as a preliminary to hostilities.

299. Madison's "war message"; war declared (1812). — Less than three months later the President sent his "war message" to Congress, in which he virtually recommended an appeal to arms. The three chief grievances cited were: (1) the impressment of American citizens into the English navy (§§ 264, 289); (2) the British Orders in Council (§ 289), and the establishment of "pretended blockades" by which "our commerce" had been "plundered in every sea"; (3) the belief that "British traders and garrisons" on the Canadian fron-

tier had encouraged the recent Indian outbreak (§ 297) in the West.[716]

When the question came up for debate in the House, the Eastern and Middle States, with the three exceptions of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Pennsylvania, voted against the war on the ground that we were unprepared for it, and that it would be disastrous to the best interests of the country. All the Southern and Western States, which were mainly agricultural and had comparatively small commercial interests at stake, voted for it. Thirty-four members of the opposition joined in an address to their constituents in which they stated in substance that the United States was composed of eighteen independent sovereignties united by bonds of moral obligation only, and that if we entered upon the contest with England we did so "as a divided people."[717] But on June 18, 1812, Congress declared the "second war of independence" against Great Britain. Before the declaration reached London, English trade interests had forced Parliament to revoke the obnoxious "Orders in Council" (§ 289). The war, therefore, was practically to be fought on the impressment grievance alone, which England refused to discontinue.[718]

300. The American army and navy; Clay and the invasion of Canada; the war loan.— Our regular army numbered less than seven thousand men. The officers of this small force were mainly "decaying veterans" who had been appointed not for their military ability, but for political reasons.[719] Among the younger men, Harrison had his Tippecanoe fame (§ 297), and Winfield Scott and Andrew Jackson were only waiting for an opportunity to make a brilliant record. The country had to depend for soldiers mainly on the State militia and on volunteers. The Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to furnish their quota of militia, but New England contributed a very large number of volunteers.

The navy consisted of six frigates and about a dozen smaller vessels; but some of these were the "best of their class in the

world." England, on the other hand, had nearly a thousand war-ships. The chief officers of our little navy were all young men, and Hull, Decatur, Rodgers, Bainbridge, and Porter had shown in the wars with the Barbary pirates (§§ 249, 285) that they knew how to give and take hard knocks. But Clay, and the war party generally, placed their main reliance not on battles at sea, but on an invasion of Canada. They believed that a majority of the Canadians would flock to our standard, and that we should speedily dictate "peace at Quebec or Halifax."[720]

The war would demand a liberal supply of money; but when the Government called for a loan of $25,000,000, it could not obtain half that sum.[721] Later, the United States Treasury confessed itself unable to meet the interest due on the national debt; and had not John Jacob Astor and Stephen Girard come to the rescue, the Government would have been unable to pay the wages of its soldiers and sailors.[722]

301. Hull's campaign and surrender. — The campaign was opened in the summer of 1812 by General William Hull. He was a Revolutionary veteran whom Washington had commended as "an officer of great merit." Hull advanced with a force of about two thousand men, and crossing the Detroit River into Canada, issued a proclamation declaring that he had come to restore the people of that province "to the dignified station of freemen."[723] Practically the proclamation had no effect on the Canadians. After some skirmishes with the Indians, Hull fell back to Detroit. His effective force was soon reduced to about a thousand men, and he received no proper support from the Government. General Brock, aided by Tecumseh (§ 296) with a body of Indians, marched on Detroit and demanded its surrender. Brock had a somewhat larger force than Hull; but the American General was behind his works, and his men stood ready to defend them. Hull, without firing a single gun or consulting his officers, gave up the fort. His object, he said, was to save the women and children of Detroit from the scalp-

ing-knives of the savages. Hull had not only failed in his expedition against Canada, but he had lost the whole territory of Michigan and Fort Dearborn (Chicago) besides. He was tried by court-martial, found guilty of cowardice and neglect of duty, and sentenced to be shot; but the President pardoned him on account of his age and his honorable Revolutionary record.[724]

In the autumn (1812) a second attempt was made to invade Canada; but the expedition, which was made up chiefly of raw militia, was badly managed, and was defeated and driven back.

302. The "Constitution" vs. the "Guerrière"; other American naval victories. — A few days after Hull surrendered at Detroit (§ 301) his nephew, Captain Isaac Hull, commander of the frigate "Constitution," 44 guns, fought (August 19, 1812) the British frigate "Guerrière," 38 guns, off the coast of Nova Scotia. Admiral Farragut said: "Captain Hull was as able a seaman as ever sailed a ship." In less than thirty minutes after the engagement began, the "Guerrière" struck her colors. She was so terribly cut to pieces that Hull could not tow his prize into port, so he set her on fire and blew her up. The "Constitution," henceforth popularly known as "Old Ironsides," came off without serious damage. Before the close of 1812 we had gained three more memorable victories at sea, — the "Wasp" had captured the "Frolic"; the "United States" had taken the "Macedonian"; and the "Constitution," the "Java."

Speaking of the surrender of the "Guerrière," the "London Times," forgetful of Paul Jones's exploit (§ 224), said: "Never before in the history of the world did an English frigate strike to an American." Before the contest ended the same journal had to confess: "Scarcely is there an American ship-of-war which has not to boast a victory over the British flag."[725] In fact, out of eighteen naval engagements between single vessels, we gained no less than fifteen.[726] In most cases our ships were larger than those we fought; furthermore they generally had

more men, and often threw heavier broadsides; but after all, the real secret of our remarkable victories lay in the fact that we handled our ships and guns far better than our opponents did theirs.[727] Success in the past had made the English careless; they aimed their shot badly, while our sailors not only hit the mark, but hit to kill. In these battles the enemy lost, on the average, about five men to our one.[728]

The English declared that the crews of the American vessels were made up largely of deserters from the Royal Navy, and that their ships had been beaten by their own countrymen fighting under the "stars and stripes." The log-books, however, show that nearly all of our officers were born in America, and that not more than one man in twenty of our crews was a native of Great Britain. In the end English naval writers admitted that the American people, "rod in hand," had taught them their "first lesson" in the art of gunnery.[729]

303. The "Essex" in the Pacific; American privateers; the British blockade; the presidential election; the "Chesapeake" and the "Shannon." — While we were gaining this series of successes on the Atlantic, Captain Porter of the "Essex" was destroying British whalers by wholesale in the Pacific. American privateers beset the coast of England to such an extent that English merchantmen did not dare leave port except under the protection of a man-of-war. Within two years we had captured more than eight hundred vessels, and before the close of the war the total number of our prizes reached twenty-five hundred.[730]

On the other hand, the British not only captured hundreds of our merchantmen, but they kept up a strict blockade along the coast of the United States. If one of our war-ships left port it ran the risk of being taken by a superior force, and "the American flag ceased for a time to wave on the ocean from any national vessel." [731]

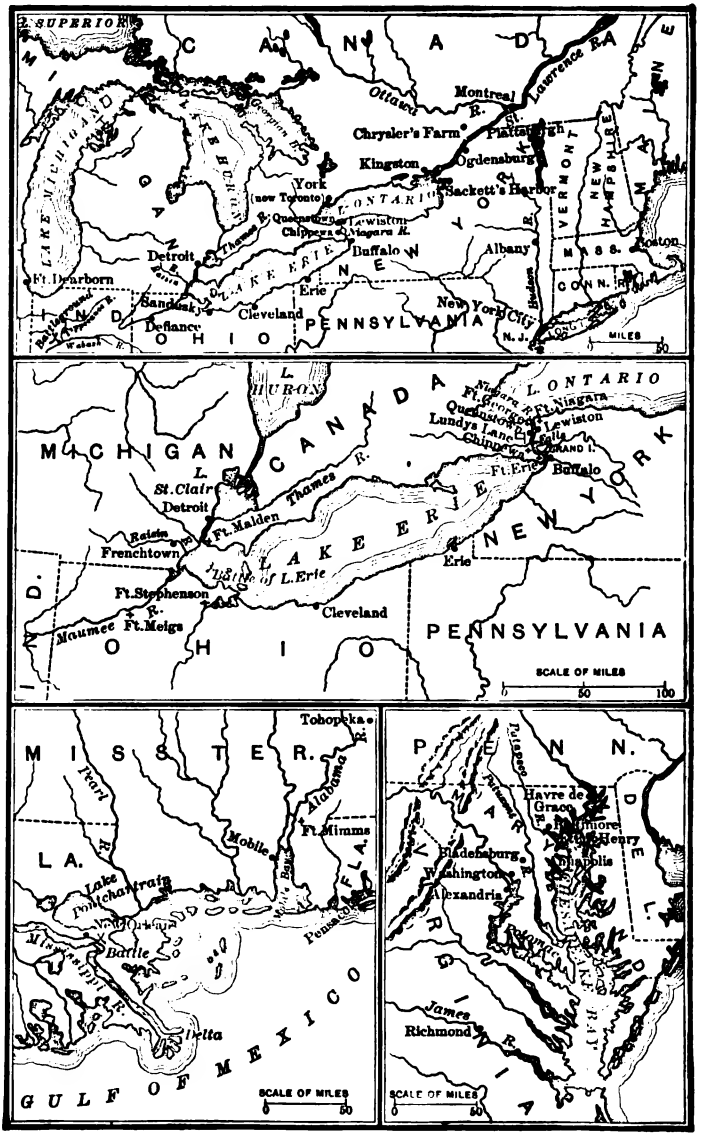
Meanwhile the presidential election had occurred (1812), and notwithstanding the efforts of the peace party, Madison received

128 electoral votes to 89 cast for DeWitt Clinton, his opponent. Elbridge Gerry was elected Vice-President.

The first decided American defeat at sea occurred in the summer of 1813. Captain Broke of the "Shannon," cruising off Boston, challenged Captain Lawrence of the "Chesapeake" to fight him. Lawrence's crew was larger than Broke's, but it consisted mainly of raw men, and some of these were mutinous. Broke declared that he had long been drilling his crew into a state of "perfect discipline" with reference to such a contest.[732] In the course of the action a large number of the officers of the "Chesapeake" were struck down, and Lawrence himself fell mortally wounded. His dying order was: "Don't give up the ship!" The command came too late, for the enemy leaping on board the "Chesapeake" captured the vessel (June 1, 1813) and ran up the English colors in triumph. This engagement was the last important battle of the war between single ships.[733]

304. Perry's victory on Lake Erie. — While these events were taking place on the Atlantic, Oliver Hazard Perry, a young man of twenty-seven, was busy preparing for the defence of Lake Erie, then held by the enemy's ships. Perry captured a British brig, bought three small American schooners, and then, by almost incredible labor, completed the construction of five more vessels from green timber which he cut on the western shore of the lake. With this fleet of nine vessels, of which two, as Perry said, "were growing in the woods last spring," the young commander attacked the British squadron. Perry had certain advantages in the engagement. He had three more ships than the enemy; he probably had more men fit for duty, and his guns, though fewer in number than those of the English, could throw far heavier broadsides.[734] The battle (September 10, 1813) was fought with indomitable courage on both sides.

In memory of the lamented commander of the "Chesapeake," Perry had named his vessel the "Lawrence" and had hoisted a flag bearing Lawrence's last words: "Don't give up the ship!"


L. SUPERIOR
CANADA
Ottawa R.
Montreal
St. Lawrence R.
Chrysler's Farm
Plattsburgh
Kingston
Ogdensburg
York
(now Toronto)
Sackett's Harbor
L. ONTARIO
Queenstown
Lewiston
Chippewa
Niagara R.
Buffalo
Albany
Boston
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
MASS.
CONN.
Detroit
Thames R.
Ft. Dearborn
LAKE ERIE
Erie
Sandusky
Cleveland
Defiance
New York City
N. J.
PENNSYLVANIA
OHIO
MILES
L. HURON
MICHIGAN
CANADA
L. ONTARIO
Ft. Niagara
Ft. George
Queenston
Lundys Lane
Lewiston
Chippewa
GRAND I.
Ft. Erie
Buffalo
NEW YORK
L. St. Clair
Detroit
Thames R.
Ft. Malden
Raisin R.
Frenchtown
LAKE ERIE
Battle of L. Erie
Erie
Ft. Stephenson
Cleveland
Maumee R.
Ft. Meigs
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
Tohopeka
MISSTER.
Pearl R.
Alabama R.
Ft. Mimms
Mobile
LA.
Lake Pontchartrain
New Orleans
Battle
Mississippi R.
Delta
Pensacola
GULF OF MEXICO
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
PENN.
Patapsco
Havre de Grace
Baltimore
Ft. Henry
Annapolis
Bladensburg
Washington
Alexandria
Potomac R.
James R.
Richmond
SCALE OF MILES
0
50

WAR OF 1812.

(§ 303). The British made this vessel the target of their fire; Perry fought until nearly every one of his men had fallen. He saw that it would be madness to remain longer in his shattered ship. The enemy had literally "hammered him out of it." Leaping into a row boat with his brother, a boy of twelve, he pulled with splintered oars amid a storm of flying shot for the "Niagara." Having reached her, he again hoisted the famous flag he had brought with him from the "Lawrence," and bore down on the enemy's fleet. The fight was renewed more furiously than ever, with the result that at length the British commander was forced to strike his colors. Perry then taking a pencil wrote on the back of an old letter this laconic despatch to General Harrison, commander of the Army of the West: "We have met the enemy and they are ours."[736]

It was the first entire squadron that Great Britain had ever surrendered,[736] and she had surrendered this to Americans. The victory gave us the absolute control of Lake Erie. Perry transported Harrison's army, 3500 strong, across to Canada. The British, who had only about 700 men, were compelled to abandon Detroit, and retreat up the Thames. Tecumseh (§ 297) with about a thousand Indians joined them on that river. Harrison completely routed the enemy, and Tecumseh was killed. We recovered Detroit (§ 301), and the British never again got a foothold on the Territory of Michigan. In consequence of the death of Tecumseh most of the Indian tribes in the Northwest now made haste to declare their submission to the United States.[737]

305. **Macdonough's victory** (1814). — Meanwhile the British, having captured Oswego, had despatched a force of about twelve thousand men from Canada down the western shore of Lake Champlain. This movement was supported by a British fleet on the lake. To oppose this advance we had a small force at Plattsburg, and a few war-vessels stationed on the lake. The American squadron was commanded by Captain Macdonough, a young man about Perry's age (§ 304). In this instance the

British had more ships, more men, and more guns. The weight of metal which each side could throw was equal almost to a pound, but the enemy was far superior in the important matter of long-range guns.[738]

Macdonough got his ships into an advantageous position for the fight, and then handled them so admirably that in less than three hours (September 11, 1814) he had won the day. The British army retreated to Canada and made no further attempts to penetrate the State of New York.

306. The campaign in Canada; the "Bladensburg races"; capture of Washington; the "Star Spangled Banner." — Meanwhile there had been a movement on Montreal, and fighting had occurred (November 11, 1813) at Chrysler's Farm; there had also been sharp engagements at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane (July 5 and 25, 1814). In the first instance we came off second best; in the last two battles General Brown and Winfield Scott drove the enemy off the field; but our forces were too small to maintain a foothold on Canadian soil.

Late in the summer of 1814 Admiral Cockburn and General Ross landed about five thousand men — mostly sailors and marines — on the banks of the Patuxent and marched on Washington. General Winder with a force of six thousand men met the enemy at Bladensburg within sight of the national capital. Five hundred of Winder's army were sailors; most of the rest were raw militia. The sailors made a brave stand, but the militia ran, and Madison, who was with the troops, was swept along with them, in what the newspapers called the "Bladensburg races."

Later, the President fled to the Virginia woods for safety. The enemy entered Washington in triumph (August 24, 1814); their first act was to burn the capitol. They next entered the Executive Mansion, and, according to their own account, drank the King's health in the President's wine, and then set fire to the house. They then proceeded to destroy the Treasury, and most of the other government buildings.[739] The English

The Star-Spangled Banner

O! say, can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hail'd by the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose bright stars & broad stripes, through the clouds of the fight
O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets red glare, the bomb bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there
O! say does that Star-Spangled Banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave?

On that shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream.
'Tis the Star-Spangled Banner - O! long may it wave
O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave

declared that they perpetrated this act of vandalism in retaliation for our having burned the Parliament House at York (now Toronto).[740]

The British fleet next (September 12, 1814) moved on Fort McHenry, the chief defence of Baltimore. The fort held out valiantly against the furious bombardment; if it fell, the chief city of Maryland must fall with it. Among those who anxiously watched the attack was Francis S. Key, a young Baltimorean, detained as a temporary prisoner by the British. When the sun rose on the second morning he saw with delight that the fort held out and that "our flag was still there." The enemy had ceased firing and were preparing to withdraw. Taking an old letter from his pocket, Key hastily wrote on the back of it the first draft of the national song of the "Star Spangled Banner"; the whole country was soon ringing with its patriotic strains.

307. Fort Mims; Jackson at Tohopeka and Pensacola. — Meanwhile important events were happening in the Southwest. The powerful Indian tribe of the Creeks in the Alabama country had risen against the settlers in that section. In the summer of 1813 they attacked Fort Mims near Mobile, and massacred more than five hundred men, women, and children who had gathered there for safety. General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee marched against the Indians and completely routed them (March 14, 1814) at Tohopeka, or Horseshoe Bend, on a branch of the Alabama River.

The Spanish authorities had perfidiously permitted the English forces to land at Pensacola, Florida, and make it a base of operations for attacking Louisiana. Jackson repulsed a movement of the enemy against Mobile; then, without waiting for orders from Washington, he pushed forward to Pensacola, took the place by storm (November 7, 1814), and drove out the British. This success left "Old Hickory," as his men called him, free to go to the defence of New Orleans, which was the real point at which the enemy was aiming.

308. New England's opposition to the war. — While Jackson was throwing up entrenchments at New Orleans a movement was in progress in New England which many believed threatened a dissolution of the Union. The New England States had suffered heavily by the war, and the commercial distress of that section could hardly be overestimated.

A strong party opposed the further prosecution of the contest. They denied that we had made any real progress. Our invasion of Canada (§§ 301, 306), said they, has ended in failure; our national capital has been captured and burned, and our coast is strictly blockaded; the enemy has secured possession of the seaboard of the District of Maine, and threatens to advance farther south.

They admitted that we had gained remarkable victories on the ocean; but they called attention to the fact that the fall of Napoleon now left England free to employ an overwhelming naval force against us, and that a powerful British fleet carrying a thousand guns was at that very time moving on New Orleans.

Again, the opposition declared that the war had already cost the Government more than $100,000,000; that the National Treasury was empty; and that the financial condition of the country seemed to forebode a general crash. Many banks had suspended payment, and it was feared that sooner or later all must close their doors.[741]

Now that the first enthusiasm had spent itself, it had become difficult to secure recruits. Outside of New York, Tennessee, Kentucky, and perhaps Ohio, very few States gave to the war the earnest support which it demanded. Volunteering had practically ceased, and the Secretary of War proposed a draft, and suggested that minors over eighteen should be enlisted "without the consent of their parents." In the navy the lack of men was so serious that the Secretary of that department urged the Government to adopt the British expedient of impressment of seamen.[742]

309. Call for the Hartford Convention; the "Richmond Enquirer" on secession. — The Senate of Massachusetts had already (June 15, 1813) resolved that the war was "waged without justifiable cause," and had solemnly remonstrated against its continuance.[743] A few months later the Legislature issued a call for a convention at Hartford, and invited the other New England States to send delegates "to confer upon the subject of their public grievances." But in issuing this call the Legislature explicitly limited the action of the proposed convention to matters "not repugnant to their obligation as members of the Union." The Legislatures of Connecticut and Rhode Island — the only remaining States which chose delegates — imposed a similar restriction.[744] Notwithstanding the above proviso, the report got abroad that the real object of the convention was nothing less than secession. The President was greatly alarmed and "looked heart-broken."

The "Richmond Enquirer" condemned the meeting in advance. It declared that: "No State, or set of States, has a right to withdraw itself from the Union of its own account." It added: "The majority of the States which formed this Union must consent to the withdrawal of any branch of it. Until that consent has been obtained, any attempt to dissolve the Union — is *treason*." [745]

310. The Hartford Convention and its work. — The Convention met at Hartford (December 15, 1814), and by unanimous vote chose George Cabot of Boston chairman. It continued in secret session for three weeks. The report of the Convention recommended seven amendments to the Constitution. One of these proposed amendments, which was styled "indispensable," demanded that the power of Congress to admit new States, as in the recent case of Louisiana (§ 282), should be restricted; the next most important of the proposed amendments demanded the limitation of the authority of the Government to declare "offensive war." [746]

The Convention furthermore recommended the Legislatures of the three States represented to protect their citizens against forcible drafts or impressments (§ 308) not authorized by the Constitution. It also advised these States to ask permission of the national Government to use a part of the federal taxes for defending their territory against British attack.[747] In case the Government refused to grant such permission or neglected to take measures for the protection of New England, and insisted on prosecuting the war, the Convention recommended that another convention should be called to act as "a crisis so momentous may require." [748] Several delegates had been strongly urged to advocate secession, but declined to do so.[749] They declared, however, that "if the Union be destined to dissolution by reason of the multiplied abuses of bad administration, it should, if possible, be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent." [750]

The Hartford Convention gave the finishing stroke to the Federalist Party (§ 275). Its enemies accused its delegates of having committed "moral treason." The fact that it represented only the extreme Federalists had no weight with those who violently denounced all who belonged to that party.

311. **The battle of New Orleans (1815).** — Three days after the Hartford Convention closed its session, General Jackson won the ever-memorable battle of New Orleans. The British army of ten thousand men was largely composed of veterans who had fought under Wellington. They were commanded by Sir Edward Pakenham, brother-in-law of the "Iron Duke" and one of his bravest officers. Their object was to take New Orleans and thereby get control of Louisiana and the mouth of the Mississippi. Jackson had only about half as many men as Pakenham, and less than one-fifth of these were "regulars." The remainder were made up of Louisiana militia, Lafitte's pirates, free negroes, and volunteers from Tennessee and Kentucky. The latter were all "dead shots" with the rifle.

Jackson's main line of defence consisted of a canal, or broad ditch, backed by a rampart of muddy earth which extended eastward from the Mississippi to an impassable cypress swamp. On this rampart he had mounted thirteen cannon. Fighting began on the last of December (1814), but the great attack and final assault by the British came at daylight on Sunday morning, January 8, 1815. The artillery men and the sharpshooters mowed down the enemy as they advanced against our works, while Jackson ran along the line crying to his men, "Give it to them, my boys, let's finish the business to-day!" [751] They did "finish" it. The assaulting party was driven back with terrible loss. They died as brave men die, falling with their faces toward our guns. The British rallied again and again, but it was useless; they could not scale our entrenchments, and at length, after three hours of desperate fighting, they turned and fled in confusion. In that short time the enemy had lost more than twenty-five hundred men, including Pakenham, their leader; Jackson reported our loss at "only seven killed and six wounded." [752] It is probable that this decisive victory would in itself have put an end to the war, and the moral effect of it would certainly have saved the Union had it stood in any real danger of disruption.

312. **The treaty of Ghent.** — After the first overthrow of Napoleon, England fell back exhausted by the tremendous struggle in which she had been engaged on the continent. Her people, crushed by debt and taxes, were eager to make peace with the United States, and thereby reopen their American trade. Our commissioners — Gallatin, Bayard, and J. Q. Adams — met the English commissioners at Ghent in the summer of 1813; the negotiations dragged on for a year and a half. A short time before Jackson fought the battle of New Orleans, the treaty was signed at Ghent (December 24, 1814); but in those days of slow-sailing ships, the news did not reach us in season to prevent the last great conflict of the war.

We had entered upon the contest of 1812 with the cry of

"Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." Our chief object was to compel England to renounce the impressment of American seamen (§ 264). The treaty of Ghent, however, did not mention impressment at all nor did it protect the rights of neutrals. Hence it wholly failed to secure either of the objects for which we took up arms. But the progress of events gained both these points without a treaty. When England exiled Napoleon to St. Helena all questions about neutral ships, free goods, and impressment were dropped, and so far as the United States was concerned, were never again revived in a threatening form.*

With regard to territory the treaty stipulated that England should restore the seizures she had made, — these were parts of Maine and the trading-post at Astoria, Oregon; provision was also made for the settlement of the dispute respecting the boundary line between the United States and Canada.

However unsatisfactory the treaty was on the leading points in discussion, the fact that it brought peace caused it to be hailed with delight. Federalists and Republicans were wild with joy. Party hatred was forgotten, and old political enemies rushed into each other's arms and "kissed each other like women." [753]

313. Political results of the War of 1812. — The War of 1812, though disappointing in some of its results (§ 312), was, nevertheless, our "second war of independence." The splendid victories which we gained on the sea and on the lakes won for us the respect of foreign nations, and henceforth Great Britain and all other European powers silently conceded our rights on the ocean.

Next, the war emancipated us from the belief that we stood in need of European alliances. Nothing more was heard of a French or of an English party (§ 261); America felt able to

* NOTE. — In 1856 the chief commercial nations of Europe adopted the Declaration of Paris which abolished privateering, and made the neutral flag cover all goods not contraband of war; the United States declined to accede to this Declaration. See "Lalor's Cyclopædia," "Alabama Claims."

go forward in her own chosen path without leaning on any foreign power or asking for any foreign approval. Finally the war strengthened the bond of Union which it had at one time threatened to break. We heard no more expressions of New England discontent, and no more hints of possible secession in that quarter. Jackson's notable victory at New Orleans came to complement and round out the naval successes of Hull, Decatur, Porter, Perry, and Macdonough. It sent a thrill of pride through the whole nation, and made North and South feel that they were one people.

314. Results of the war; Second United States Bank; tariff; emigration; "internal improvements"; new States; presidential election. — The charter of the "Bank of the United States" (§ 255) had expired (1811) just before the outbreak of hostilities with England. An attempt to renew it failed; but at the close of the war the suspension of specie payment by State banks encouraged the friends of a national bank to propose the reëstablishment of such an institution. They were successful, and the second "Bank of the United States," one of the first results of the war, was chartered (1816) for twenty years. Its capital was fixed at $35,000,000, of which one-fifth was to be subscribed by the Federal Government. Like its predecessor, it had its headquarters in Philadelphia with numerous branches throughout the country.[754]

A second result of the war, considered in connection with the preceding embargo (§ 290), was the encouragement it gave to manufacturing, especially in New England and New York. In 1814 Francis C. Lowell, with others, introduced the power-loom from England, and opened at Waltham, Massachusetts, the first completely equipped cotton mill in the world. It was followed by the establishment of the colossal factory systems of Lowell, Fall River, and Lawrence. At the close of hostilities fleets of English merchantmen laden with English goods began to arrive at our ports. The cotton mills of New England, claiming to represent a capital of $40,000,000, demanded legis-

lation which should check this deluge of cotton cloths pouring in from abroad. Woollens were likewise in danger from the same source. They were said to employ a capital of about $12,000,000.

A third result of the war was that Henry Clay came forward as the champion of the protection of home industry against foreign competition. He urged the adoption of a tariff which should lay a heavy duty on the class of imported goods which our manufacturers could produce. His arguments were warmly supported by Calhoun and other Southern members interested in cotton-raising for the home market. Daniel Webster represented New England commercial interests. He declared himself friendly to such manufactures as we then possessed, but he strongly opposed any action on the part of the Government which should tend to stimulate their artificial increase.[755] Eventually a tariff with protective features in favor of cotton, woollen, iron, and sugar was established (1816); it imposed duties of from twenty to thirty-five per cent.[756]

A fourth result of the war was that a great impulse was given to emigration, especially toward the South and West which did not suffer from the depression felt in the New England States. In the six years following the treaty of peace (1816–1821) the territorial population increased so rapidly that a new State was admitted each year.

A fifth important economic result of the war was that it showed the military as well as the political weakness of a vast domain destitute of lines of connecting roads and canals. This fact moved a powerful party in Congress to advocate a comprehensive system of "internal improvements" (§ 285) which would facilitate means of communication and transportation between the States. One object of the increased tariff rates was to obtain a revenue that would justify larger expenditures in this direction. Hence the general political result of the war was to strengthen the "broad-construction" theory of the Constitution (§ 256).

During Madison's first administration the State of Louisiana (§ 282) entered the Union (1812), and near the close of his second administration (1816) Indiana was admitted, making the whole number of States nineteen.

The presidential election (1816) was a complete triumph for the Republicans. James Monroe, who was Secretary of State under Madison and, in the language of that day, "heir apparent" to the presidency, was chosen to succeed Madison, with Daniel D. Tompkins as Vice-President. Monroe's opponent was Rufus King, Federalist. The electoral vote stood 183 to 33.

315. Summary. — The principal event of Madison's two administrations was the War of 1812 — commonly known as "the second war of independence." The contest made our power respected on the ocean; it ended by strengthening the Union and rendering it self-reliant. It encouraged the "broad-construction" policy which called the second Bank of the United States into existence, established a tariff with protective features, and gave a new impulse to measures favoring the building of roads, canals, and other "internal improvements" by the national Government.

JAMES MONROE (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS, 1817-1825.

316. The "Era of Good Feeling." — Congress had made large appropriations for strengthening the coast defences of the United States. The President (§ 314) thought it his first duty to visit and personally inspect all the military posts on the frontier. Starting from Washington he took the steamboat to Baltimore, and thence passed along the seaboard of the Middle and Eastern States as far as Portland. Then turning westward he journeyed to Detroit, and after a tour of more than three months (1817), returned through Ohio to occupy the unfinished "White House" at the national capital. In the West much of the country through which he travelled was still covered by the primeval forest, broken here and there by Indian villages or

scattered white settlements. Later (1819), Monroe made a similar journey through the South.

No President since Washington had made such a journey, and Monroe was everywhere welcomed with enthusiasm. Dressed in the handsome blue and buff uniform of an officer of the Revolution, the President recalled the stirring days of '76, when American patriots fought for the liberty they now enjoyed. The bitter sectional feelings roused by the late war had subsided, and no sharp political issues had since arisen. Federalists and Republicans seemed to forget their old prejudices and animosities. They declared that all things now made for peace, and that the "Era of Good Feeling" had begun.[757]

317. The first Seminole War, 1817–1818. — Many Indians of the Creek nation had emigrated to Florida where they had united with native tribes of that section. The Creeks called these emigrants "Seminoles," or "Wanderers." After General Jackson had subdued the Creeks (§ 307) and forced them to give up a large tract of their country, many of the defeated and angry savages crossed the border and joined the Seminoles. Led by their chief, "Billy Bowlegs," they declared implacable hatred to the United States. They made a treaty with Colonel Nicholls, commander of a British force, who encouraged them in their determination to compel the federal Government to restore their lands in Georgia and Alabama.

Runaway slaves from Georgia uniting with bands of Seminoles seized an empty stronghold which Nicholls had built; henceforth it was known as the "Negro Fort." The occupants of that fort made raids across the border and plundered the Georgia settlers, driving off cattle and enticing slaves to join them. General Gaines despatched an expedition against the negro stronghold, and a well-directed, red-hot ball passing through the powder magazine blew the fort and its defenders to fragments (1816).

This effectually destroyed the negro settlement, but as the Seminoles remained unsubdued, General Jackson was ordered

to move against them. Jackson made short work with the Indians he encountered. Believing that the Spanish garrison at St. Marks secretly encouraged the hostile Seminoles, he compelled the commander to surrender that post (1818).

A little later he seized Arbuthnot and Ambrister, two British subjects who were engaged in trade with the Indians, and accused them of stirring up the savages to make war against the United States. The men were convicted by court-martial and hanged. Jackson then marched on the Spanish post of Pensacola and seized it (1818), on the ground that the Governor encouraged the Indians to make raids into Alabama.

318. **Jackson and Florida; purchase of Florida.**—Jackson thus ended the first Seminole War. In doing this he practically conquered Florida, for whose purchase we were then negotiating with Spain. The Government had strictly prohibited his seizing any Spanish post unless expressly ordered to do so. Spain protested against this armed invasion of her territory; Jackson justified his action by appealing to the necessity of self-defence. He declared that if the Spanish authorities could not or would not restrain the Seminoles from committing outrages on American citizens, he had the military right to seize such fortified points as would effectually secure our frontier. The administration, however, took a different view of the matter. The President promptly disavowed Jackson's capture of St. Mark's and Pensacola, and restored the posts to the Spanish authorities (1818).[758]

Spain now thought it expedient to dispose of a province, which on account of its situation was likely to breed more wars with the United States. John Quincy Adams negotiated a treaty of purchase (1819) — ratified in 1821. By its terms Spain ceded to us the whole territory of East and West Florida for the sum of $5,000,000, and at the same time renounced her claim to any part of the Pacific coast north of the forty-second parallel. This act helped to confirm our title to the Oregon country (§ 258). On the other hand, we gave up whatever

territorial right we had obtained to Texas through our purchase of the province of Louisiana (§ 280).

319. Business crash and panic; separation of Church and State; the steamship "Savannah." — Meanwhile the country was suffering from "hard times," and the outlook was most discouraging. The introduction of the steamboat into western waters (§ 286) had greatly stimulated emigration, and this, in

The United States after the Purchase of Florida in 1819.

(The "Oregon Country" was held jointly with Great Britain; all the territory east of the Upper Mississippi had been organized (1805, 1818) as "Michigan Territory.")

turn, had encouraged widespread and reckless land speculation. To accommodate borrowers, banks sprang up by scores, so that before the close of 1818 nearly four hundred such institutions were doing business in twenty-three States and Territories. Most of these banks had no adequate capital, and many of them were guilty of gross fraud, and recklessly issued "five times as much paper as they could ever redeem."[759] The "Bank of the United States" (§ 255) resolved to force these worthless State banks to redeem the notes with which they

had flooded the country. This action hastened the inevitable crash (1819).[760] Business came to a standstill, laborers were thrown out of employment, and the jails were crowded with penniless debtors.

While these dismal events occupied the public mind, a great political movement was in progress in New England, which resulted in the final separation of Church and State (§ 179). This change began in the adoption of a new constitution by Connecticut (1818). It extended to New Hampshire (1819), then to Maine (1821), and finally (1833) to Massachusetts. It granted the right of suffrage to all tax-payers, and released them from the compulsory support of any form of religious worship.[761]

Meanwhile another and very different revolution was foreshadowed. In the spring of 1819 the "Savannah," an American-built sailing-vessel, provided with paddle-wheels which could be moved by steam, crossed from New York to Liverpool. She was the first rude attempt at an ocean steamer. She made the passage in twenty-six days. There were packet-ships then that could easily beat that record; but the "Savannah" appears to have suggested the first permanent line of steamships. These vessels were launched in England in 1840, and were the forerunners of our modern "greyhounds of the sea."[762]

320. The question of slavery extension; alternate admission of free and slave States. — For many years there had been no serious discussion of slavery in Congress; apparently, that question had been put to final rest (§ 257). Now it suddenly sprang to life in a more dangerous form than ever.

We have seen (§ 176) that Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson believed and hoped that slavery would die a natural death. But the occurrence of two events rendered their labors in the cause of emancipation useless. These were Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin (1797) (§ 259), and the purchase of the Territory of Louisiana (1803) (§ 280). The first made

slave labor enormously profitable at the South; the second secured its extension west of the Mississippi River. Thus at the very time when the Northern States were passing acts of gradual or immediate emancipation, negro bondage was strengthened at the South, and was gaining the support of much Northern manufacturing and commercial capital. Notwithstanding the constitutional prohibition of the foreign slave-trade (§ 257) it still flourished; and Judge Story declared (1819) that American citizens were "steeped up to their very mouths in this stream of iniquity."[768] Unexpectedly the question of the maintenance of slavery had risen to be the chief economic, political, and moral factor in the history of the United States.

From this period the Republic became "a house divided against itself." Every year made it more and more difficult for the federal Government to legislate satisfactorily for the two sections with their antagonistic tendencies and systems of labor. In order to secure an even division of political power, Congress had adopted the policy of admitting new States by alternation, so that a free State should balance a slave, or a slave a free (§ 267). Thus Vermont was followed by Kentucky, Tennessee by Ohio, Louisiana by Indiana, Mississippi by Illinois. After the admission of Illinois (1818) there were eleven free to ten slave states in the Union. The expected speedy admission of Alabama — which in fact soon occurred — would restore the political equipoise and make the Union half slave and half free.

321. **Missouri applies for admission as a slave State; Tallmadge's amendment.** — At this juncture the Legislature of Missouri Territory petitioned Congress, in the spring of 1818, for permission to form a State government sanctioning slavery. At St. Louis and elsewhere about ten thousand slaves were held under territorial laws (§ 280). The Missouri petition was referred to a committee which brought in a favorable bill. This action was a great surprise to the North; for since the admission of the State of Louisiana (1811) the

people opposed to slavery had taken it for granted that no further attempts would be made to extend it west of the Mississippi.

When the Missouri bill came up in the House, Tallmadge, of New York, moved an amendment (February 13, 1819) prohibiting "the further introduction of slavery" into Missouri, and requiring that "all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty-five." [764]

322. Debate on Tallmadge's amendment. — This proposition roused a fierce and prolonged debate, in which Southern threats of secession were met by cool defiance.[765] While the question was before the House, a bill was introduced to provide a territorial government for the Arkansas country where, as in the Missouri country, slavery already existed. Following the example of Tallmadge, Taylor, of New York, moved that slavery should be prohibited in the new Territory. After a sharp contest his motion was lost, and Arkansas was organized (March 2, 1819) without the proposed restriction.

This act seemed to foreshadow the extension of negro bondage and greatly excited the North. But the discussion of the Missouri question far outranked that of the Territory of Arkansas, and it roused passions which shook the foundations of the Republic. Jefferson said that the angry debate startled him "like a fire bell in the night," and seemed "the knell of the Union." [766]

Henry Clay led the opponents of Tallmadge's motion. He argued that it would be inhuman to coop up the slaves on the exhausted soil of plantations east of the Mississippi, and he implored Congress to throw open Missouri and let the poor negroes "share the fat plenty of the new West."

He and his followers denied that Congress had the constitutional power to impose Tallmadge's restriction (Appendix, p. xiv, Sect. 3). They furthermore declared that the purchase treaty of 1803 (§ 280) guaranteed to the white inhabitants of

the entire Louisiana country the right to hold slaves. Finally, they contended that Congress could not prevent emigrants from the Southern States going to Missouri and taking with them their negroes — which in law were as truly their property as their horses and cattle were. The Northern members replied that Congress, under the Confederation, had shut slavery out of the entire Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787 (§ 237), and had done it by means of Southern votes. If that celebrated act was constitutional, — and no one denied it, — so, too, they argued, was the measure now proposed, since it simply applied to the region beyond the Mississippi, a rule which had been successfully applied east of that river.

Slavery, said they, is not national, but local and accidental; it is contrary to the real spirit of American institutions. To extend it would be to deliberately propagate a system which leading Southern men have always admitted to be a moral and political evil.[767]

Thus supported, Tallmadge's amendment passed the House by a vote of 97 to 56, but it was rejected by the Senate. The House stood firm, and Cobb, of Georgia, declared that the Northern members "were kindling a fire" which nothing but blood could extinguish. Later, Senator Barbour, of Virginia, proposed calling a convention to dissolve the Union.[768]

323. The people discuss the Missouri question; action of Congress on Maine and Missouri. — After the adjournment of Congress in the spring of 1819, the people of both sections took up the Missouri question. Public meetings in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and even in Baltimore, demanded that Congress should put a stop to the spread of slavery beyond the Mississippi. The Legislatures of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana warmly seconded this demand.

The South generally took the opposite stand. Virginia and Kentucky called for the admission of Missouri without conditions, declaring that the attempt to restrict slavery was a direct attack on State-rights.[769]

A new Congress met in December, 1819, and Missouri again petitioned for admission. The discussion of the question of restriction was then taken up in the Senate and very ably argued. Rufus King, of New York, was the champion of free soil, and William Pinkney, the brilliant Maryland lawyer, defended the cause of slavery.[770] Missouri had no sooner presented her petition in the House than the District of Maine, recently separated from Massachusetts (§ 105), asked

Map illustrating the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820.

(The Act did not mention the territory south of 36° 30', but the understanding was that it was to be opened to slavery.)

permission to enter the Union. The House, by a sectional vote, granted Maine her prayer; after a long debate the Senate did the same, but added a "rider" to the bill which provided that Missouri should be admitted without restriction of slavery. As neither branch of Congress would yield, legislation on this point came to a standstill.

324. The Missouri Compromise proposed and passed (1820). —Senator Thomas, of Illinois, broke the deadlock. He had

already proposed the famous measure which got the name of the Missouri Compromise. He now presented the bill again (February 17, 1820). It provided that the State of Missouri should be admitted with slavery, but that in all the remaining territory west of the Mississippi, north of the line 36° 30′, — or the southern boundary of Missouri, — slavery should be "forever prohibited."[771] It was understood that if the North accepted this proposition no further opposition would be made on the part of the South to the admission of Maine. The Senate voted in favor of the Missouri Compromise; when it came to the House it was carried (March 2, 1820) by the help of eighteen Northern members.

Benton spoke of it later as "an immense concession" by the South to the non-slave-holding States; but the friends of free soil looked upon it as a defeat. John Randolph, of Virginia, stigmatized the Compromise as a "dirty bargain," and nicknamed the Northern men who had voted for it "Doughfaces"; only three of these men were reëlected to Congress.[772]

Before signing the Missouri Compromise Bill, President Monroe asked his Cabinet, "Has Congress the constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a Territory?" All of his Cabinet, including Calhoun, replied, "Yes." The President then signed the bill.[773]

The entrance of the two States of Maine and Missouri (1820, 1821) made the whole number twenty-four — twelve slave and twelve free.

325. What Jefferson and John Quincy Adams thought of the Compromise. — Thus peace was obtained; but Jefferson declared that an irritating geographical line had been established, and he feared that the question of the further extension of slavery would eventually make "separation preferable to eternal discord." "We have the wolf by the ears," said he, "and we can neither hold him nor safely let him go."[774] But notwithstanding Randolph's sneer, there were Northern men who had no "dough" either in face or character who had

given the measure their support. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, the "first leader in the long crusade against slavery," was one. He said, "I have favored the Missouri Compromise, believing it all that could be effected under the present Constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union to hazard. If the Union must be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question on which it ought to break. For the present, however, this contest is laid asleep."[775] The phrase "laid asleep" was wisely chosen, for the terrible question gained new strength through repose; when it awoke many years later, it showed itself, as Jefferson predicted it would, more irrepressible and more formidable than ever.

326. **The second Missouri Compromise; admission of the State (1821).** — When Missouri formed her State constitution she forbade the entrance of free negroes. This provision raised another storm. The great majority of Northern members in the House voted against admitting the State unless this article should be dropped. Henry Clay effected a compromise by which the Missouri Legislature pledged the State not to shut out any colored person who was a citizen of another State;[776] Missouri was then admitted (1821). Fifteen years later (1836) the Missouri Compromise was practically violated by an act of Congress which extended the area of the State on the northwest. The portion added was as large as Rhode Island; the Compromise of 1820 had included it in territory which was to be free soil "forever," but this act made it part of a slave State.

327. **The Crawford Act; "machine politics"; the presidential election.** — Meanwhile important political changes had been taking place. Throughout the States it had now become the practice on the incoming of a new Governor to remove officers who did not agree with him in politics. The tendency was to nationalize this system by applying it to federal officers.

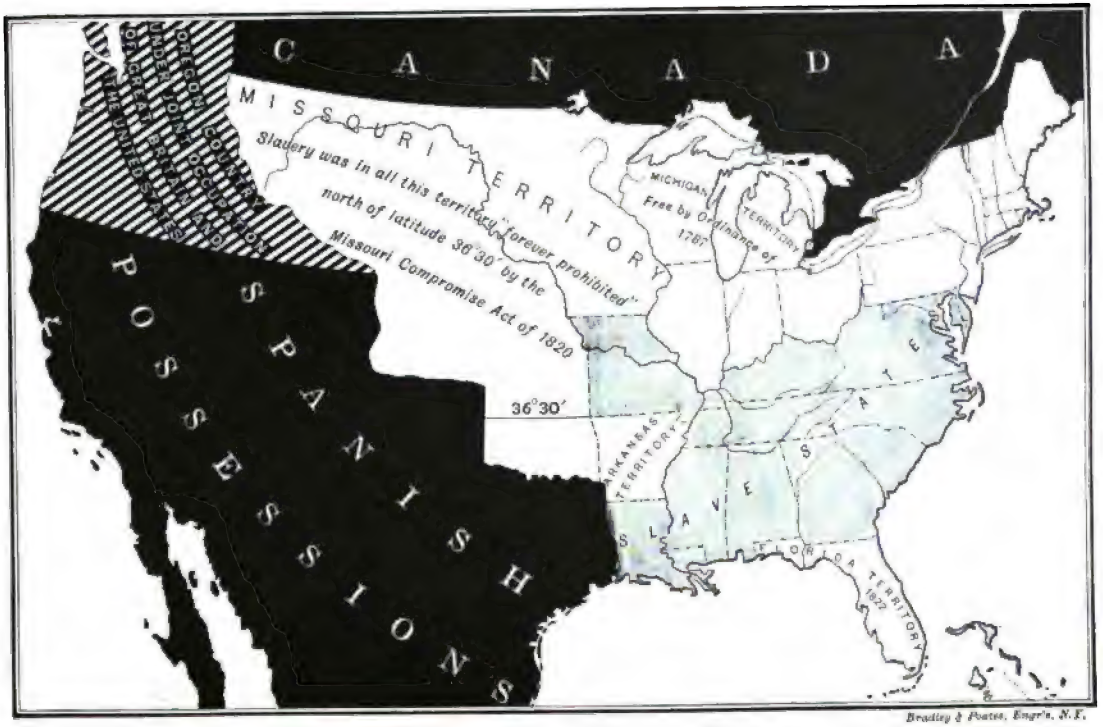
William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, an aspirant for the presidency, procured the passage of an act (1820) which greatly increased the power of Executive patronage.

Hitherto it had been the custom to continue the subordinate officers of the Treasury Department in service during good behavior. The Crawford Tenure of Office Act now limited their term to four years.[777] This was the commencement of that regular system of rotation in office which continued until overturned by the Civil Service Reform movement, which began more than half a century later (1872).

Less than ten years after the passage of the Crawford Act, party leaders, since known as "bosses," began to manage presidential nominations and elections. Their skillfully organized methods worked with such mechanical precision that they received the appropriate nickname of "machine politics." At the presidential election (1820) there was no division of parties, and Monroe obtained every electoral vote but one; Daniel D. Tompkins was again chosen Vice-President.

328. The Cumberland Road veto; Texas. — The Cumberland Road (§ 285), the first great national undertaking of the kind, — projected in 1806, — had been completed across the mountains. It extended to Wheeling, on the Ohio, and the entire work had cost about $1,700,000.[778] Congress now passed a bill appropriating $9000 for the repair of the road; Monroe, who was a "strict constructionist" (§ 256), vetoed it, on the ground that the Constitution gave Congress no power to make this class of "internal improvements."[779] Later, he reconsidered his objections, and on the last day of his administration (1825) signed a bill for extending this important road to Zanesville, Ohio.[780] Eventually this broad, straight, well-built national highway was pushed through to the Mississippi. The whole question of the constitutionality of "internal improvements" continued to excite sharp debate until the advent of railroads (1830), built by stock companies, put an end to the discussion, except in the case of the great transcontinental undertakings of recent times.

We have seen (§ 318) that when we purchased Florida (1819) we renounced all claim to Texas; but this renunciation



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THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE ACT.

did not prevent filibustering expeditions (1819–1821) from some of the Southern States. Many people in that section believed that the President had exceeded his powers in giving up our claim to Texas. They resolved to make efforts to obtain re-possession of that province. All those who sought to extend the area of slavery, either for political reasons or in order to raise the market price of negroes in the East, encouraged those efforts.[781]

329. Emigration to Texas. — Stephen F. Austin, of Missouri, obtained a large grant of land in Texas, in the vicinity of the Brazos and Colorado Rivers, from the Mexican Government; and many emigrants from the Southwestern States went out to settle on it. The Texan Government (1827) had emancipated all slaves, and enacted a law forbidding their importation, though it permitted peonage, a form of bondage, worse in some respects than negro servitude. The American colonists in Texas paid no attention to this law; they continued to hold negroes in servitude, and to bring them into the province from the States. Under the leadership of General Sam Houston, of Tennessee, these colonists (1836) declared themselves independent of Mexican rule, and after the successful battle of San Jacinto, they raised the flag of the "Lone Star State" at Austin, the capital. From that time onward a strong party in the South made incessant efforts to secure the annexation of Texas as a slave State. We shall see that, in spite of powerful opposition, they at length (1845) succeeded.

330. The "Holy Alliance"; Russian America; suggestion of the "Monroe Doctrine." — After the final overthrow of Napoleon, Russia, Prussia, and Austria formed the "Holy Alliance." Its object was to restore absolute monarchical power in Europe and in European dependencies.[782]

The Alliance encouraged Spain to prepare to subjugate her revolted and independent South American colonies; at the same time the Czar thought it a favorable moment to make an attempt to extend the area of the province of Russian

America (now Alaska) on the Pacific coast. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, opposed the plans of Russia. He declared that it was a "law of nature" that we should eventually make the whole of North America our own. He told the Russian Minister (1823) that "we should contest the rights of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent," and that we should assume "that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European establishments." [783]

A few months later Mr. Canning, Prime Minister of England, proposed that the United States should coöperate with Great Britain in protecting the Spanish American Republics against the designs of Spain and the "Holy Alliance." [784] President Monroe consulted Jefferson in regard to the matter. Jefferson said: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs." [785] After discussion at a cabinet meeting, it was thought best to respectfully decline Canning's invitation of coöperation.

331. The President promulgates the "Monroe Doctrine." — In his annual message (December 2, 1823) the President called the attention of Congress to the schemes of the Czar and of the "Holy Alliance." Speaking of Russia, he said: "The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European powers."

Passing next to the projects of Spain and the "Holy Alliance" with respect to the colonies which had declared their independence, he said: "We should consider any attempt on the part of the allied powers to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." He added that should Europe make such an attempt we could not view it "in any other light than the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." [786] This memorable declaration obtained the name of the "Monroe Doctrine."

332. Application of the "Monroe Doctrine." — The "Monroe Doctrine" received the commendation of Webster and other eminent statesmen. It has been popularly understood to mean that we claim "America for Americans" — or that, in other words, we say to the European powers, "since we do not meddle with your continent, you must keep your hands off ours." Practically, however, the "Monroe Doctrine" at the time it was promulgated was not held to commit us to anything more belligerent than what John Quincy Adams called "the mild compulsion of reason." [787]

In the next administration (1826) the question came up whether the United States should undertake the defence of the Spanish American Republics (including Mexico) by armed force. President Adams and the House of Representatives both declared that we did not feel ourselves pledged to do anything of the kind.[788] As it now appears to be understood, the Monroe Doctrine expresses the determination on our part not to interfere with the existing American colonies or possessions of any European power; secondly, to resist by formal protest, or by such means as we may deem most expedient, the interference of any nation of Europe with the affairs of either of the American continents; and, finally, to endeavor to secure the settlement of such questions — as in the case of Venezuela (1896) — by international arbitration.[789]

After the enunciation of this principle, Russia made a treaty with the United States. The Czar gave up all claims on the Pacific coast of America south of 54° 40′, — or the present southern boundary of Alaska, — and granted to American citizens the right to trade on the coast north of that parallel and to fish in its waters.[790]

The "Holy Alliance" ceased to encourage projects for the overthrow of the Spanish Republics. This change was due partly to the decided language we had used in the Monroe Doctrine, and partly to the fact that England, following our example, had recognized the independence of those Republics.

333. The tariff of 1824. — The tariff of 1816 (§ 314) was decidedly protective with regard to cotton and woollen goods, but not conspicuously so with respect to other articles. The Middle and Western States, with certain sections of New England, now demanded higher duties on wool, iron, and hemp. Clay wished to make the United States, as far as possible, independent of the industries of Europe. With this aim he came forward as the great champion of what he called "a genuine American policy." He carried through a bill (1824) in favor of "protection for the sake of protection." Webster spoke against it, and the South, which had now changed its attitude (§ 314), was almost solidly opposed to such a measure. That section now had a constantly increasing foreign demand for their cotton, and found it for their interest to purchase English goods in exchange. The new tariff enacted by Congress (1824) fixed the average scale of duties at thirty-three and a third per cent.[791] The South denounced the measure as "sectional, unconstitutional, and unjust."[792] Later, this denunciation culminated, as we shall see, in open nullification and threats of secession.

334. Lafayette's visit. — In 1824 Congress invited Lafayette to visit the United States as the "nation's guest." He reached New York in the summer of that year, after more than forty years' absence. He came, as he said, to see the "beloved land" of which it had been his "happy lot to become an early soldier and an adopted son."[793]

In the dark days of the Revolution he had generously opened his purse and risked his life in our cause. He was now old and poor; but America convinced him that he was not forgotten. He spent more than a year (1824–1825) in travelling through the country, and visited every State in the Union. It has been said that "Only Washington himself, had he risen from the grave, could have called forth deeper feelings of reverence and affection."[794] Clay welcomed him in an eloquent address made in behalf of the nation, and with his own hands

Lafayette laid the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument. Congress voted him the sum of $200,000 and a township of land in Florida, and he returned to France in the new frigate "Brandywine" (§ 215), named in honor of his services in that battle.[795]

335. **The presidential election (1824); charge of "a corrupt bargain."** — The four leading candidates for the Presidency were John Quincy Adams, who, as Secretary of State under Monroe, was "heir apparent" (§ 314), Henry Clay, W. H. Crawford (§ 327), and Andrew Jackson, who was wholly unknown in politics. As three of them had never before tried their powers in such a contest, the campaign was called "the scrub race for the presidency." All four were nominally members of the Democratic-Republican Party — the only national party then in existence. Adams and Clay were "broad constructionists" (§ 256) who strongly favored the expenditure of a part of the public money for the building of roads, canals, and other "internal improvements." Crawford and Jackson, on the contrary, held "strict-construction" views (§ 256) on this point, and believed such "improvements" should be made by the States themselves at their own expense. Again, Adams and Clay both favored "protection," while Crawford declared himself for a revenue tariff only. Jackson's views on this question were unknown, but he was supposed to incline toward "protection."[796]

In the end the contest narrowed itself down to the choice of either Jackson or Adams. Previous to this time the presidential electors had generally been chosen by the State Legislatures, but in 1824 they were chosen, in eighteen States out of twenty-four, by the people.[797] It was estimated that the Jackson electors received upwards of 50,000 more votes than the Adams electors.[798] Hence, so far as the direct voice of the people could decide it, Jackson was successful. None of the presidential candidates, however, obtained a clear majority of the electoral votes; the Constitution, therefore, required the House

of Representatives to "choose by ballot one of them for President" (Appendix, p. xvii).

In the House Clay's friends united with those of Adams and chose the latter, John C. Calhoun having been elected Vice-President. The excitement over this announcement was intense. The House of Representatives had followed strictly constitutional methods; but Jackson's friends did not hesitate to declare that he was entitled to the presidency since, of the two chief candidates, he had received a majority of the popular vote.[799] They denounced the coalition of Clay's and Adams's supporters as a "corrupt bargain," asserting that Clay had sold himself to Adams in return for the promise of the appointment of Secretary of State in the latter's Cabinet. Clay indignantly denied this report; but as Adams made him Secretary of State, his denial went for nothing. Jackson himself was hot against Clay, and privately declared that this "Judas of the West" had deliberately betrayed him.[800]

336. Summary. — Following the chronological order, the most important events in Monroe's administrations were: (1) the purchase of Florida; (2) the Missouri Compromise, whereby slavery was admitted to that State, but "forever" prohibited from all other parts of the Louisiana Territory north of the parallel of 36° 30′; (3) the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, which denied the right of European powers to interfere with affairs in either of the American continents.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN), ONE TERM, 1825–1829.

337. Inaugural address; "internal improvements." — The keynote of the President's (§ 335) inaugural address was his urgent recommendation that the national Government should encourage a great system of roads, canals, and other public works. Monroe strongly favored such a policy, but thought that it required an amendment to the Constitution to authorize

it. Mr. Adams did not think such an amendment necessary. As a "broad constructionist" (§ 256) he was positive that the Constitution did sanction works which "would bind the Union more closely together." [801] But Mr. Adams went further: following the suggestions of Washington he earnestly recommended the establishment of a national university and a naval school. The latter he considered a necessary complement to the United States Military Academy founded (1802) at West Point.

Congress was ready to grant appropriations to facilitate communication which would render every part of the country "more accessible to, and dependent on, the other." The Cumberland, or National Road (§ 285), was pushed westward from Zanesville, Ohio, toward the Mississippi; extensive coast and river surveys were made, and the construction of important canals undertaken. The activity of the Government was so great that this has been called "the epoch of internal improvements." In the course of Mr. Adams's administration nearly $14,000,000 was spent on works of "permanent benefit to the country." Of this sum more than $4,000,000 was laid out on roads and canals. This amount exceeded the total expenditure for such purposes of all Mr. Adams's predecessors. The President congratulated the nation that these public enterprises had been carried out "without adding a dollar to the taxes or debts of the community." [802] Later, he had an unexpected opportunity to show his faith by his works. He was to throw the first shovelful of earth at the opening of a new canal between the East and the West. He chanced to meet with some obstacle, and he at once pulled off his coat and began to handle his spade with such energy that the delighted multitude cheered to the echo.[803] It was perhaps the only act of his entire presidential career which the people hailed with applause, for Mr. Adams was a man whose virtues made few friends; he never gained popularity, and he certainly never coveted it.

338. The Erie Canal and its results. — As early as 1808 Judge Forman, of Onondaga, New York, moved in the Legis-

lature that steps be taken toward connecting the waters of the Hudson with those of Lake Erie. The motion was not carried into effect at the time, but later James Geddes was commissioned to make a preliminary survey. The War of 1812 convinced the people of New York that the work of constructing the proposed canal could not be safely postponed. The cost of transportation from the seaboard to Detroit was fifty cents a pound for ammunition and sixty dollars a barrel for flour.[804] It was evident that a continuous water-way between New York city and the West would be of incalculable advantage to both sections. On the one hand, it would open a market to the Western farmer for his produce; on the other, it would furnish an outlet for Eastern goods and imports. Governor Clinton urged the Legislature to begin the important work without further delay. Finally his zeal overcame all opposition, and in the summer of 1817 a gang of laborers began to excavate the trench which opponents ridiculed as "Clinton's Big Ditch."

The entire canal was completed in the autumn of 1825. It extended from Albany to Buffalo, a distance of 363 miles, and tapped Lake Erie at a height of several hundred feet above tide-water. The average cost was nearly $14,000 a mile, and it was built by the State when its population hardly exceeded a million, and when it had no surplus revenue to spare. The work was substantially done, with "immense embankments, noble aqueducts, and massive locks."

When (October 26, 1825) the waters of Lake Erie were let into the great trench, Governor Clinton, attended by many distinguished men, made the journey from Buffalo to Albany, and thence to New York city in a fleet of gaily decorated canal boats. Fieldpieces had been placed along the entire route, at intervals of about five miles; and when the canal was opened this cannon-telegraph flashed the news from Buffalo to New York in ninety minutes. Kegs of water from Lake Erie were carried on the boats from Buffalo to the mouth of the Hudson. The Governor completed the celebration by emptying the con-

tents of one of the kegs into the salt water. By this act he commemorated, as he declared, "the navigable communication accomplished between our mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean."[805]

The canal shortened the time from Albany to Buffalo one-half; reduced rates on freight from $100 a ton to $10, later to $3; and greatly facilitated the movement of emigration to the West.[806] Furthermore, it stimulated settlements all along the line. These have since grown into prosperous towns and wealthy cities. Finally the canal helped to make the city of New York "the great distributing center of the North."[807]

339. "The great Western march." — On the day of Mr. Adams's inauguration the greater part of Ohio was still covered with forests, and most of Illinois was a prairie wilderness.[808] But on the Erie Canal and the National Road (§§ 333, 334) a procession of boats and wagons crowded with emigrants from the East was steadily moving toward the Mississippi. The Ohio, from Pittsburg, was alive with barges moving down the river and carrying whole households, with their cattle, hogs, horses, and sheep. A number of steamboats were regularly running, not only on the rivers of the West, but on the Great Lakes, and they contributed their part toward aiding the emigration.

In the decade between 1820 and 1830, Michigan Territory gained 260 per cent in the number of its inhabitants; Illinois, 180; Arkansas Territory, 142; Indiana, 133;[809] and Ohio increased from a population of about 576,000 to nearly a million.

The United States offered land at two dollars an acre, and gave the settler ample time to pay for it. Eventually the farmer could get a quarter-section, or 160 acres, for about $26, so that practically he received his homestead as a gift from the Government. In every thirty-six townships one, of ten miles square, was reserved for the maintenance of public schools.[810] Cheap land and free education both stimulated the emigrant's "great

Western march" to that land of promise destined to become the center of population and of political power.

No official record of immigration from abroad was begun until 1820, but between 1820 and 1830 about 150,000 foreigners settled in the United States. A large proportion of them made their homes in the West. More than one-half of these newcomers were from the British Isles.[811] The great tide of immigration, however, did not begin until many years later (1847).

340. Dispute with Georgia concerning Indian land cessions. — By a treaty made with the chief of the Creek Indians, all lands owned by that tribe in Georgia were ceded (1825) to the United States. The Creeks protested against this cession, declaring that it had been made by certain Indians without the sanction of the tribe. President Adams ordered the enforcement of the treaty to be suspended until General Gaines could confer with the Creek nation. Governor Troup, of Georgia, determined to have the ceded lands surveyed at once, as a step toward the expulsion of the Indians. He threatened to call out the military force of the State to resist General Gaines and his body of federal troops. The Creeks at length (1826) signed a new treaty by which they bound themselves to give up all their lands in Georgia and to emigrate across the Mississippi.[812]

Before the transfer was completed a serious dispute arose between the Governor of Georgia and the President of the United States respecting the survey of a part of the Creek country. At one time it seemed as if the controversy must be settled by the sword, but happily a way was found to compromise the difficulty.

Later (1828), Georgia assumed jurisdiction over the lands of the Cherokee reservation held by that semi-civilized tribe under treaty with the federal Government. The President protested, but the House justified the action of the State.[813] Practically, Georgia nullified the Cherokee treaty, and afterward (1831) refused to obey a decision of the United States Supreme Court which virtually sustained the rights claimed by the Indians.[814]

341. The Panama Congress; new political parties; the Temperance movement. — Meanwhile the Spanish-American Republics had invited the United States to send delegates to a Congress at Panama to discuss what action should be taken respecting European interference or colonization (§ 327). Congress accepted the invitation, but passed an informal resolution declining to take any definite joint action with the Spanish-American Governments. The Panama Congress met, but dissolved before our delegates arrived, and nothing more was done.

Shortly after Mr. Adams entered office, his friends and Clay's united in forming a new party which took the name of National Republicans, and later that of Whigs. They stood on the platform of "broad construction" (§ 256); they advocated a protective tariff and demanded "internal improvements" (§ 333) by the national Government. The regular Democratic-Republicans, under the lead of the Jackson men, soon became known as Democrats; generally speaking, they favored the "strict-construction" (§ 256) interpretation of the Constitution, and the Southern portion of the party laid stress on State-rights.

Meanwhile a third political party had come into existence. A man named Morgan had published a book claiming to reveal the secrets of Free Masonry. Morgan suddenly disappeared, and many persons believed that the Masons had made away with him. The excitement caused the organization of an Anti-Masonic Party in western New York, which bound itself to oppose the election of any member of the Masonic Order to public office. The new party generally voted with the National Republicans; it exercised considerable influence for several years, but then lost power.

When Mr. Adams entered office, liquor was freely used by all classes of society. The mechanic, the farm-laborer, and the merchant all thought that they must have it; it was bountifully supplied at weddings, funerals, college commencements, and ministerial ordinations; and children used to buy it by the cent's worth at the corner groceries.

Dr. Lyman Beecher of Connecticut appears to have led the movement of reform (1811). The result of his work was the establishment of the "Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance" (1813), followed in 1826 by the organization of the "American Society for the Promotion of Temperance," which ten years later (1836) took its stand on the platform of total abstinence. Four years afterward (1840), the Washingtonian Temperance Society was formed at Baltimore to reclaim habitual drunkards. Eventually, the Total Abstinence movement began to demand the entire suppression of liquor-selling, and in 1851 Maine passed the first prohibitory law. Later, a number of other States made experiments in the same direction, and decided against prohibition, but five — Vermont, New Hampshire, Kansas, and North and South Dakota — now (1896) join with Maine in absolutely forbidding the sale of all intoxicating drink as a beverage. The law, however, has encountered many serious obstacles which have generally checked its rigid enforcement in the large towns.

In 1872 a political party entered the national field pledged by its platform to add a prohibitory amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

342. Commercial treaties; West India trade; the Harrisburg Convention. — The President negotiated a great number of commercial treaties which secured a large and prosperous trade with the Spanish-American Republics and with other powers. But, on the other hand, the English Government cut us off (1826) from the very lucrative direct trade we enjoyed with the British West Indies. Mr. Adams made energetic attempts to induce England to reopen those ports to us, but failed to accomplish anything. Finally, by virtue of a law passed under the preceding administration, he issued a proclamation (1827) of retaliation, and declared that all commercial intercourse with those ports was prohibited.[815]

In the summer of 1827 a National Convention of Protectionists met at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. They were dissatisfied

with the tariff of 1824 (§ 333), and demanded that higher duties should be levied on woollens, iron, hemp, and other products. The object of the Convention was twofold: first, to protect home industries; and secondly, to retaliate on Great Britain for her exclusion of these articles.[816]

343. The so-called "tariff of abominations." — At the next session of Congress (1827) a tariff bill embodying the measures of the Protectionists was brought in. The division on it was almost purely sectional: the North and West advocated it, while the South opposed it. In the case of the tariff of 1824 (§ 333), Daniel Webster had declared himself the champion of a free-trade or revenue tariff except in the case of manufactures already established, and which seemed to require defence against foreign competition. He now came out strongly for protection. He took the ground that since New England had been forced by the act of 1824 to invest a large part of her capital in woollen manufactures, it was the duty of the national Government to guard that capital against sudden and ruinous loss.[817]

Southern men protested against this policy. Cotton, rice, and tobacco then constituted the chief American exports, and they were exchanged for articles of European manufacture on advantageous terms. The South wished, therefore, to keep up this trade as it stood, and to purchase her goods where she could get them cheapest.

A Senator from Maryland denounced the proposed system of protection as a "tariff of abominations,"[818] and John Randolph, of Virginia, said it should be called "a bill to rob and plunder nearly one-half the Union for the benefit of the residue."[819] Haynes, of South Carolina, went further and declared that the proposed law "was calculated to sever the bonds of the Union."[820]

344. Passage of the tariff bill. — After a violent debate of six weeks the new tariff bill was passed (1828) amidst the wildest excitement. The vote in the Senate stood 26 to 21, and in the

House 109 to 91. The act increased the duties from the previous rate of 33⅓ per cent to an average of 45 per cent.[821] The rate on cottons was left unchanged, but that on woollens was more than double that of the tariff of 1824.[822] Some of the most obnoxious features of the act were incorporated in it by its enemies. They hoped, thereby, either to kill the measure, or to kill Adams's chances for a second presidential term if he signed the bill.

345. Opposition of South Carolina to the tariff. — The people of many towns in South Carolina held mass-meetings at which they resolved to wear homespun, and to refuse to buy any cloth made north of the Potomac. South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama declared the new tariff a violation of the Constitution.[823]

Calhoun drew up an "Exposition and Protest" which, after some changes, was adopted by the Legislature of South Carolina. The "Exposition" denounced the tariff as an act of tyranny on the part of the majority, and as directly contrary to the plain spirit of the Constitution. The manifesto further declared that, should the federal Government persist in enforcing the protective system, it would be "the sacred duty" of his State "to arrest the progress of a usurpation which must corrupt the public morals and destroy the liberty of the country."[824] Webster considered the situation very grave. He wrote: "In December, 1828, I became thoroughly convinced that the plan of a Southern Confederacy had been received with favor by a great many of the political men of the South."[825]

346. The presidential election. — At the presidential election (1828) the candidates were John Quincy Adams, National Republican (§ 337), and Andrew Jackson, Democrat. Jackson easily carried the day, and with John C. Calhoun as Vice-President, was elected by a large majority, the electoral vote standing 178 to 83, and the popular vote 647,231 to 509,097.

347. Summary. — The principal events of President Adams's administration were: (1) the impetus given to the making of

roads, canals, and other "internal improvements" by the national Government; (2) the completion and opening of the Erie Canal by the State of New York; (3) the great movement of population westward; (4) the enactment of the high protective tariff of 1828, which excited the violent opposition of the South.

ANDREW JACKSON (DEMOCRAT), TWO TERMS, 1829–1837.

348. Jackson's election and inauguration. — The election (§ 346) and inauguration of the new chief-magistrate showed that a political revolution had taken place. Every one of the seven preceding Presidents, from Jefferson to John Quincy Adams (1801–1829), had filled the office of Secretary of State. All were of Eastern birth and had been educated at college. Now, the rough, self-willed, strong-limbed pioneers who were clearing and planting the wilderness beyond the Alleghanies (§ 339) had resolved to put a fresh man at the helm. They felt that Jackson was one of themselves. He was the son of a Scotch-Irish immigrant (§§ 52, 173), and was born in a log-cabin in the backwoods. He had never been Secretary of State, but the West believed him "heir apparent" (§ 314) to the presidency by right of nature. They put him forward to break up the routine of "cabinet succession."

The old and conservative sections of the country had been fully represented in the Executive; in Jackson, the Indian fighter, the "hero of New Orleans," the new forces at work in America were embodied, and were to come to the front. Never had such a multitude been seen in Washington as on the day of his inauguration. Men stood with their muddy boots on the satin-covered chairs in the White House to get a sight at the President of their choice.[826] Eastern men looked on in dismay, and Judge Story wrote home that "the reign of King Mob seemed triumphant."[827]

349. Removals from office. — More than twelve years before, Jackson had written to Monroe, after the latter's election to the

presidency (1817), urging him not to remove Government officers for political reasons. He said then: "Now is the time to exterminate the monster called party spirit";[828] but since that period he had changed. He entered office fully convinced that he had once been cheated out of the presidency by a "corrupt bargain" (§ 335). He believed that "bargain" had deliberately thwarted the will of the people. He considered that the Government belonged to those who had elected him. The editor of the "Washington Telegraph," the organ of the new administration, declared that he took it for granted that Jackson would "reward his friends and punish his enemies."[829]

Jackson himself was eager to begin what he called "the task of reform." He was convinced that Adams and Clay had filled the public offices with "babbling politicians" who ought to be removed for the good of the country; but, as a matter of fact, Adams had kept his political and personal enemies in office, and had refused to give places to his friends and supporters.[830]

Jackson's policy anticipated Senator Marcy's rule: "To the victors belong the spoils."[831] He made removals by wholesale, and the working of the Crawford Act (§ 327) helped to make more vacancies. At Washington the distress and terror of the "ins" was only matched by the rapacity of the "outs." In the first month of his administration Jackson dismissed more men from office than all the Presidents who had preceded him (§ 279). Before the close of the first year not less than two thousand office-holders had been replaced by adherents of the new Government.

350. The President declares the removals necessary; the "Kitchen Cabinet"; foreign affairs.—The President believed that these changes were in every way an advantage. He declared that unless such removals were regularly made, subordinate officials would consider their positions "as a species of property," and would "acquire a habit of looking with indifference upon the public interests."[832] Hence he earnestly advocated "rotation," and urged Congress to extend it.[833] Jef-

ferson and Madison had already protested against the introduction of this system when applied to clerks in departments.[834] Webster, Calhoun, and Benton added their remonstrances,[835] but in vain, for rotation in office, first systematically begun by the Crawford Act (§ 337), became firmly established. Through it the "spoils system" held unbroken sway for more than forty years.

Unlike his predecessors, Jackson did not hold cabinet councils, but depended largely on the suggestions of a few intimate friends who were popularly known as the "Kitchen Cabinet." Amos Kendall, of Massachusetts, a man of considerable ability, with a "great talent for silence" and for work, was the leader of this influential group.

In his foreign relations Jackson gained two signal triumphs early in his administration. He succeeded in negotiating a treaty with Great Britain which granted us the long-coveted, unrestricted, direct trade with the West Indies (§ 265); and he induced France to pay us 25,000,000 of francs to settle our claims for the spoliations which Napoleon had committed on our commerce (§ 295).

351. Hayne vs. Webster on State vs. National sovereignty. — In the first Congress which met under Jackson, Senator Foot, of Connecticut, proposed (1830) making an inquiry respecting the sale of Government lands. His resolution led unexpectedly to the "great debate" between Webster and Hayne on the nature of the Union. This question went to the very foundations of the Government. It asked: Did the Constitution create an indestructible nation, or did it simply establish a league between sovereign States which may be broken by the action of any member of that league? Such a discussion necessarily involved an inquiry into the right of nullification and disunion.

Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, spoke in the interest of the league theory of the Constitution. Addressing Mr. Calhoun, the presiding officer, the Senator said: "Sir, I am one of those who believe that the very life of our system is the independence

of the States, and that there is no evil more to be deprecated than the consolidation of the Government."[836] Webster replied: "Sir, . . . I am a Unionist. . . . I would strengthen the ties that hold us together."[837]

Hayne rejoined by quoting Jefferson's declaration that "submission to a government of unlimited power" was a greater calamity than "a dissolution of the Union."[838] He furthermore contended that both Jefferson and Madison considered the Constitution to be simply a compact made between sovereign States.[839] Finally, referring to the Kentucky Resolutions (§ 273), he insisted that in case Congress violated the Constitution, "nullification" by the sovereign States was, according to Jefferson, "the rightful remedy" (§ 273).[840]

The next day the Senate chamber was packed in anticipation of Webster's reply. On the morning of that day a New England Senator said to him: "It is a critical moment, . . . and it is high time that the people of this country should know what the Constitution *is*." Webster answered: "By the blessing of Heaven they shall learn this day, before the sun goes down, what I understand it to be."[841] In his reply Webster reached the high-water mark of his power as an orator. He argued with consummate ability that the Constitution was not a compact made between sovereign States, but that it was an indissoluble government "made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people."[842] The effect of his speech throughout the North was widespread, deep, and permanent; patriotism had a new birth, and thousands were made to feel that the American Republic rested on a foundation which could not be shaken.

A few months later, at a public dinner given in honor of Jefferson's birthday, the President gave the significant toast: "Our federal Union: it must be preserved." Calhoun responded for the South with the sentiment: "Liberty dearer than Union." Shortly after this Jackson and Calhoun ceased to hold friendly relations with each other. They represented antagonistic prin-

ciples; the President upheld the sovereignty of the Nation, the Vice-President that of the States. In 1833 Calhoun offered a set of resolutions on State-sovereignty to which Webster replied.

352. Rise of the Abolitionists. — Congress had hoped that the Missouri Compromise (§ 324) would put a stop to the discussion of slavery; but John Randolph, of Virginia, who was himself a slave-holder, declared it impossible. "You might as well," said he, "try to hide a volcano in full eruption." [843]

Many leading Southern men deplored holding human beings as property. Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, later appointed Chief-Justice of the United States Supreme Court, said of slavery that it was "a blot on our national character," which he hoped would in time be "wiped away." [844] By 1826 more than a hundred anti-slavery societies existed at the South, or nearly three times as many as there were in the North. They advocated gradual emancipation and colonization. In an address (1827) before one of these societies Henry Clay declared that slavery was "the deepest stain upon the character of our country." He added: "If I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered State which gave me birth, or that other not less-beloved State which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror." [845]

But no one, not even John Quincy Adams, soon to become the great champion of the anti-slavery movement in Congress, could then point out a remedy for the evil. Dr. Channing later wrote from Boston to Daniel Webster (1828): "I know that our Southern brethren interpret every word from this region on the subject of slavery as an expression of hostility. . . . It seems to me . . . we ought to say to them distinctly: We consider slavery as your calamity, not your crime, and we will share with you the burden of putting an end to it. We will consent that the public lands shall be appropriated to this object, or that the general Government shall be clothed with power to apply a

portion of revenue to it. . . . I am the more sensitive on this subject from my increased solicitude for the preservation of the Union. I know no public interest so important as this."[846]

353. Garrison's "Liberator"; the Nat Turner insurrection; the American Anti-Slavery Society. — Benjamin Lundy, in his paper, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," published at Baltimore, asked that the negro be gradually freed and colonized. On New Year's Day, 1831, William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, published the first number of the "Liberator." He demanded "immediate and unconditional emancipation." His editorial was a war cry. "I am in earnest," said he; "I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — *and I will be heard.*"[847] His words opened thirty years of conflict, which were to end in the war of secession and in the downfall of slavery. Garrison spared neither North nor South. Speaking of New England, he said: "I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen than among slave-owners themselves."[848] Later, Dr. Channing came over to Garrison's position and put emancipation before the preservation of the Union.[849]

That summer (1831) Nat Turner, a Virginia slave, headed a negro insurrection in which more than sixty whites were murdered. The excitement over that "Bloody Monday" was terrible, and Garrison was accused of having stirred up the insurrection by his articles in the "Liberator." He denied that he countenanced negro rebellion, but the South refused to believe him. As a matter of fact, Garrison never condemned slavery in stronger terms than a number of leading Virginians did in discussing the Nat Turner insurrection in the Legislature, and in demanding that measures be taken for gradual emancipation.

The next year (1832) the New England Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and the year following (1833) the American Anti-Slavery Society came into existence at Philadelphia. It declared: "Slavery is a crime." It affirmed that all slaves

"ought instantly to be set free"; it, however, took the ground that Congress had no Constitutional right to interfere with slavery in the Southern States, but demanded the suppression of the domestic slave-trade, and the abolition of negro bondage in the Territories.[850] Finally the Society declared that the people of the free States were under the highest obligations "to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States."[851] This declaration on the part of the Society marks an era in American history. Within less than seven years from that date the anti-slavery organizations in the free States numbered two thousand, with a membership of two hundred thousand.

354. Abolition publications destroyed; Garrison mobbed; disunion agitation. — The excitement at the South over Northern anti-slavery publications constantly increased. At length the citizens of Charleston (1835) broke open the post-office, and publicly burned all such matter found in the mails. A bill was introduced in Congress to exclude all such inflammatory material in future. Calhoun, then in the Senate, declared that if it should be rejected, he should say to the people of the South, "Look to yourselves — you have nothing to hope from others."[852] The bill did not pass, and the commotion in both sections of the country rose to a still more dangerous pitch. Garrison was assailed in Boston (1835) by a "highly respectable" mob. Had not the Mayor ordered the police to lock him up in jail for safety, the mob would probably have ducked him in the Frog Pond on the Common, dyed his face and hands an indelible black, and then given him a coat of tar and feathers.[853]

A number of years later (1843) the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society resolved that the Union ought to be immediately dissolved.[854] The "Liberator" later came out with two standing mottoes. The first was: "No union with slave-holders." The second, adopting the words of the Prophet Isaiah, declared: "The United States Constitution is a 'covenant with death,' and an 'agreement with hell'!"[855]

Meanwhile a number of leading men at the South, who had formerly deplored the existence of African bondage, wheeled about in its defence. Clay (1835) denounced the Abolitionists, and declared that "two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and sanctified negro slaves as property."[856] Calhoun had once said that slavery was a scaffolding which must come down.[857] He now (1837) denied that it was an evil, and declared that it was economically, politically, and morally "a good — a positive good."[858] "We love and cherish the Union," said he, "but we will not, cannot permit it [slavery] to be destroyed. . . . Should it cost every drop of blood and every cent of property, we must defend ourselves."[859]

John Quincy Adams had written several years before (1833): "Slavery is, in all probability, the wedge which will ultimately split up this Union."[860] At the North the men of the Garrison school were laboring to secure a separation; at the South there were politicians who eagerly welcomed the Abolition agitation. They found in it an effective means of pushing their own selfish schemes at the risk of destroying the nation. Madison feared that these men would spur the South to enter upon a course, of which the first step would be "nullification, the next secession, and the last, a farewell separation."[861] It was, as Seward later declared, the beginning of an "irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces."[862] On the part of the North, Emerson, who was no fanatic, did not hesitate to say: "Slavery is not an institution, but a destitution"; on the part of the South, Governor McDuffie, of South Carolina, boldly proclaimed slavery to be "the corner-stone of our Republican edifice."[863]

355. South Carolina nullifies the tariff and threatens to secede (1832). — While this bitter discussion in regard to slavery was going on, the discontent of South Carolina over the protective tariff of 1828 (§ 343) was increasing. In his annual message of 1831, the President recommended Congress to reduce the rate of duties. One reason which he

urged for adopting this policy was that the Government would soon have an annual surplus revenue of about $15,000,000. Clay would not listen to any change in his favorite "American system" (§§ 314, 333), and vowed that he would defend it if he had to defy the President, the South, and the Evil One.[864] Congress, however, enacted a new tariff (1832) which reduced or abolished the revenue duties, but did not materially alter the protective duties.[865] Calhoun urged South Carolina to refuse to obey the law. He declared that peaceable resistance was entirely "consistent with the federal relations of the State."[866] He argued that such resistance was essentially different from secession, and that instead of destroying the Union, it would help to preserve it.[867] He gloried in his advocacy of this measure, and said: "If you should ask me the word that I should wish engraven on my tombstone, it is 'NULLIFICATION.'"[868]

The crisis soon came. South Carolina held a State Convention (1832) and adopted an ordinance of nullification (§ 273). It declared: (1) the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers, or citizens"; (2) it refused to pay any duties enjoined by those tariffs after February 1, 1833; (3) it declared that, should the United States attempt to compel payment, "the people of this State will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government." The Convention deduced the right to secede from the nature of the Constitution, which they asserted was a compact made between sovereign States; what they had freely made they claimed the power to freely break. This action was strongly resisted by a Union Convention of South Carolinians, but most of the influential men in the State were on the side of nullification.[869]

Many years before, Jackson had declared that he would "die in the last ditch" before he would countenance disunion.[870] He now (1832) issued a proclamation in which he appealed to the fellow-citizens of his "native State" as a father might appeal to his children. But he took a decided stand. "The

Constitution of the United States," said he, "forms a Government, not a league." He added: "The laws of the United States must be executed . . . disunion by armed force is treason . . . to say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union is to say that the United States are not a nation."[871] Jackson's friends hailed him as "the second Savior of his country."[872] Congress passed a "Force Act" to enable the President to compel obedience to the tariff, and Jackson sent a sloop-of-war to Charleston, and ordered General Scott to collect the customs, if necessary, by military force.[873]

Meanwhile Clay, alarmed at the outlook, proposed a "Compromise Tariff," which provided for a gradual reduction of duties. In anticipation of the success of this measure, South Carolina decided not to resist payment of duties under the existing tariff. The "Compromise Tariff" was enacted (1833), and South Carolina at once repealed her ordinance of nullification. Jackson wrote: "Nullification is dead"; but he added: "The tariff . . . was a mere pretext . . . disunion and a Southern Confederacy [was] the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or the slavery agitation."[874]

356. Opening of the first American railroad (1830).—The steamboat (§ 286) had revolutionized travel and transportation on the inland waters of the United States, and had greatly helped forward emigration to the West. Now a far more remarkable revolution was at hand. Stephenson, the English inventor, had put the first really successful locomotive on the tracks of the first railway opened in Great Britain, or in the world. The "steam wagon" promised to supersede the mail coach and the carrier's cart. Late in the summer of 1830, fourteen miles of the Baltimore and Ohio railway were opened. It was the first road of the kind in America which was constructed for the express purpose of carrying passengers and merchandise. Peter Cooper, of New York, built a little engine called the "Tom Thumb," which made its trial trip from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills. The first American locomotive was

an improvement on Stephenson's "Rocket," since it would go safely over sharp curves. At that time, when American companies had not capital to tunnel hills, but had to go round them, this improvement was of much practical importance. It settled the question in favor of steam over horse power.[875] Before the close of that year (1830), ground had been broken for the "South Carolina Railroad" from Charleston to Augusta, a distance of 135 miles. It was opened for traffic three years later. It was the longest continuous line of railroad in the world, and was the first to carry the United States mails.

Meanwhile a part of the "New York Central Railroad" was opened (1831), and was followed by similar roads in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. But the progress of these undertakings was slow. The first puff of the locomotive was not heard in Ohio or on the prairies of Illinois until 1838; and in 1840 the total railroad mileage in the United States was less than three thousand.[876]

The railroad may be said to have solved the problem of the unity of the States, so far as that could be accomplished by material means. It clamped the Republic together with iron bands, and in time made every part quickly and cheaply accessible to every other. From an economic point of view, it was no less important. It ultimately reduced the expense of travel to one-fifth that by stage coach, and it cut down the cost of transportation by wagons from an average of twenty cents a ton per mile to less than one cent. The freight traffic of the United States if moved by horses would cost, it is estimated, more in a single year than all the railroads of the country have required for their construction.[877]

Finally, the railroad opened new lands to the emigrant and new markets for his produce. It built up thriving inland cities and towns at points inaccessible by water; and it greatly facilitated the territorial division of labor. This made it possible for each section of the country to devote its energies to the industry it found most profitable, — coal, cotton, cattle, wheat,

mining for metals, or manufacturing.[878] In 1896 the total length of railroads in the United States was more than 180,000 miles, and the total capital invested exceeded $12,000,000,000.

357. Rise of modern American literature; cheap newspapers; the steam press. — The two pioneers of American prose and poetry, Irving and Bryant, had made themselves a name before Jackson entered office. Bryant's "Thanatopsis," published (1816) in the "North American Review," then in the second year of its existence, so delighted Wordsworth that he learned it by heart. Sir Walter Scott was equally pleased with the originality and humor of Irving's writings, and offered him a handsome salary to undertake the editorship of a magazine in Edinburgh.

Cooper, the first American novelist who found readers abroad, began to bring out his stories a little later, while Simms was working in like manner at the South. Webster published the first edition of his American dictionary (1828) just before Jackson's election; and Whittier began to write his New England ballads shortly after Jackson entered office. He was followed by Longfellow, Bancroft, Holmes, Poe, Hawthorne, and Prescott; Lowell was soon to make his appearance in the same field. The last year of Jackson's second administration (1837) was rendered memorable in literature by Emerson's "Phi Beta Kappa" address on the "American Scholar." Holmes hailed it as our "intellectual Declaration of Independence."

A little earlier (1833), the "New York Sun," the first permanent cheap daily paper, appeared. The price was one cent. That meant that for the first time since the invention of printing, the poorest laborer could afford to carry home the news of the world in his pocket.

Later (1847), Hoe's steam cylinder press made cheap newspapers a success by reducing the cost of publication, and by rendering it possible to issue enormous editions in a very short space of time. A roll of paper five miles in length can now

be printed on both sides in a little more than thirty-two minutes.[879]

358. The Black Hawk War; growth of the West. — In the summer of 1832, an Indian insurrection, led by "Black Hawk," broke out in Illinois, and extended to parts of the territory now comprised in Wisconsin and Iowa. The government troops gained an easy victory, and the Indians ceded large tracts of land to secure peace. These cessions opened new fields for settlement in the rapidly growing West.

Cincinnati now had a population of more than 30,000, and Buffalo and Detroit gave promise of becoming important cities. Chicago was a pushing little trading village gathered under the protecting guns of Fort Dearborn (§ 278). St. Louis was a frontier settlement which carried on a large traffic with the Missouri Indians; near the mouth of the Mississippi, New Orleans was making ready to contest the commercial supremacy of the great Atlantic ports.

359. Beginning of the war against the United States Bank; Jackson's message. — When Jackson entered office, the Bank of the United States (§ 314) seemed almost as solidly established as the Government itself. It had a capital of about $35,000,000; its assets were fully equal to its liabilities; it held more than $13,000,000 of deposits; and it issued notes to the amount of over $27,000,000, which were considered as good as gold, not only throughout the United States, but in Europe.[880] The headquarters of the bank were at Philadelphia, under the management of Nicholas Biddle, president of the institution, and it had twenty-five branches in different States.

But some months after Jackson's inauguration, two of his most zealous supporters, both New Hampshire men, made a complaint against the bank. They stated that the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, branch was mismanaged. Jeremiah Mason, the head of that branch, was an opponent of the administration; he was accused of political favoritism in his dealings with applicants at the bank, and Secretary Ingham, of the United

States Treasury, wrote Nicholas Biddle, telling him of these complaints. Biddle, after investigating the matter, replied that the charges were groundless. He said he considered the bank accountable to Congress, but to Congress only. "The board of directors," said he, "acknowledge not the slightest responsibility of any description whatsoever to the Secretary of the Treasury touching the political opinions and conduct of their officers." [881] This sharp retort provoked retaliation.

The charter of the bank would not expire until 1836, or three years after the term for which Jackson had been elected. But in his first annual message (1829) the President said: "Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens" (§ 255). He next charged the bank with having "failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency." [882] He suggested that when the charter should expire it might be thought expedient to establish a new national bank "founded upon the credit of the Government." [883]

360. Congressional reports on the bank. — A Congressional committee reported (1830) that the Supreme Court of the United States had (*McCulloch vs. Maryland, 1819*) recognized the constitutionality of the bank, and that it had proved itself a useful institution. Concerning the currency of the bank, the committee reported that "no country in the world has a circulating medium of greater uniformity than the United States." [884]

Jackson in his next two annual messages (1830, 1831) again attacked the bank. The following year (1832) a new Congressional committee examined the condition of the institution. The majority reported against its methods of transacting business; the minority defended it. John Quincy Adams, who was one of the committee, made an independent report. He criticized some of the bank's financial methods, but declared that, all things considered, it had managed its affairs "with as near an approach to perfect wisdom as the imperfection of human nature permitted." [885]

361. Jackson vetoes the bill to recharter the bank. — In the summer of 1832, Congress passed a bill to recharter the bank. The President promptly vetoed it, on the ground that some of the powers of the institution were "unauthorized by the Constitution, subversive of the rights of the States, and dangerous to the liberties of the people."[886] He furthermore denounced the bank as a "monopoly," whose stock was held by a few hundred rich men here and a number of capitalists abroad. The existence of such a colossal money power, with its enormous political influence, "might," he said, "make us tremble for the purity of our elections in peace, and for the independence of our country in war." If we must have such a bank, said he, "it should be purely American."[887] With respect to the decision of the Supreme Court recognizing the bank as constitutional (§ 360), Jackson said: "The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the judges; and on that point the President is independent of both."[888]

Webster declared that if the veto stood, "the Constitution had received its death-blow."[889] Clay said that if the bank was compelled to call in its loans and wind up its business, the result would be "widespread ruin."[890] On the other hand, Benton said: "If the bank gains the day, there is an end of the Republic"; in that case, he added, "the president of the bank and the President of the United States will elect each other."[891] The veto triumphed, but the Senate recorded in its journal the charge that the President had violated the Constitution; before Jackson went out of office, the record was expunged.

Jackson's supporters were jubilant over the veto. They declared that, now that "Nick Biddle's bloated corporation" had received its finishing stroke, the people would get plenty of "yellow boys" in place of "Old Nick's money" and "Clay's rags."[892]

362. The presidential election. — The issue at the election (1832) was the question whether the bank should or should

not be re-chartered. Jackson denounced the institution as a dangerous political machine which was ready to use its power to set up or cast down presidents. Biddle and the Clay party retorted that Jackson had determined to make himself "lord and master of the United States," and that the safety of the country demanded his defeat at the polls.[393]

The two prominent candidates were Clay and Jackson; the former was nominated by the National Republicans (§ 341), the latter by the Democrats (§ 341). Jackson was elected, with Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. The electoral vote stood 219 to 49, and the popular vote 687,502 to 530,189.

363. The President withdraws the deposits. — Jackson began his second administration (1833) fully resolved to destroy the power of the United States Bank. He believed that it had used its funds to prevent his election, that it was "financially rotten," and that the government deposits in it were no longer safe. The House voted that the deposits were safe, but the President proceeded (1833) "on his own responsibility" to remove the government money amounting to nearly $10,000,000. The greater part of this sum was withdrawn in the course of four months. Jackson deposited most of it in about fifty State banks, — henceforth known as the "pet banks."

The removal of the deposits compelled the Bank of the United States to contract its loans. This caused "tight money"; many failures resulted, and "distress delegations" implored the President for relief. This state of things was aggravated by the great fire (1835) in New York which destroyed property to the amount of $20,000,000.

364. Increase of State banks; an epidemic of speculation; the "specie circular"; distribution of the "surplus." — State banks now began to increase at a rapid rate. Many of these institutions had little or no capital, and they issued floods of worthless paper. Plenty of cheap money stimulated speculation. In the course of two years enormous tracts of public lands were purchased; there were "booms" in cotton, in tim-

ber, in real estate in Eastern and Southern cities, and in projected Western towns.

Between 1834 and 1836 the government land sales rose from less than $5,000,000 to nearly $25,000,000.[894] Everybody seemed to be getting rich at railroad speed.[895] In New York City the assessed valuation rose in two years from $104,000,000 to $253,000,000, while in Mobile the craze of speculation was so furious that property estimated to be worth $1,294,000 in 1831 was six years later rated at $27,480,000.[896]

The President became alarmed at these heavy sales of government land for doubtful paper. He accordingly issued (1836) the famous "specie circular," which required purchasers to make their payments in gold and silver. Speculators were aghast at the prospect.[897] The financial sky grew black with the gathering storm. The banks held less than $38,000,000 in specie, against an issue of $525,000,000 in notes. Very few of them could redeem their bills in coin. The result was suspension of payment and great distress. There were bread riots in New York, and threats of mob violence on a wide scale; but the tempest did not strike the country in its full violence until after Jackson had retired from office.

Meanwhile the United States had not only paid off every dollar of the public debt, but had actually accumulated a large surplus in the Treasury. At the recommendation of the President, Congress passed an act (1836) ordering that the surplus which should be on hand at the beginning of 1837 should be distributed among the States. Accordingly the Government paid out over $28,000,000 (January to July, 1837), and then stopped because its funds were exhausted. Some States divided their share of the money among the whole population, each person getting a few shillings; others used the money to begin great systems of roads, canals, and similar public improvements. These works were seldom carried to completion, and generally ended by piling up a heavy State debt.[898]

365. "Pocket vetoes"; anti-slavery petitions; the "gag-rule." — During this period the President refused to sign the Maysville Turnpike Bill, with several others for "internal improvements" (§ 337). He believed that these measures were unconstitutional, and that they tended to produce political corruption.[899] Some of these bills were sent to him within ten days of the adjournment of Congress; the Constitution (Appendix, p. ix, Sect. 7) gave him the right to retain them until the session closed, and so defeat them. He did retain them, and thus, by what was called a "pocket veto," effectually killed this kind of legislation.[900]

Later, many persons at the North petitioned Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. On motion of John C. Calhoun, the House (1836) passed the first "gag-rule," which laid petitions on the subject of slavery on the table — thus preventing discussion. John Quincy Adams vehemently protested, declaring that this rule violated the first amendment of the Constitution (Appendix, p. xvi).

366. Important inventions; the presidential election; new States. — Shortly after Jackson's administration began, McCormick's patent reaper and mower (1834) put a new power in the hands of the agriculturist, and greatly stimulated the rapid development of the West. Colt's revolver followed, and (1835) introduced a most effective military weapon, which made itself felt in the Seminole and the Mexican Wars. Gas (1825) had been in use for some years, and the friction match (1829) now generally superseded the bungling flint and steel (§ 182).

Ericsson's screw propeller (1836) was destined to have an immense influence on ocean navigation, and Nasmyth's steam hammer (1838) gave a decided impetus to the iron mills of both England and America. Goodyear was experimenting on vulcanized rubber, and was soon (1839) to take out his patent leading to the manufacture of waterproof clothing. Two years later (1841) the first steam fire-engine made its appearance in New York; but it did not come into use until long afterward.

By 1835 the National Republicans (§§ 341, 362) had taken the name of Whigs. The Democrats were for a time divided into two factions, — the regular party and the "Locofocos," or "Reform Democrats." At the presidential election the two chief candidates were Martin Van Buren, who had been Secretary of State under Jackson, and General Harrison (§ 297); the former was nominated by the Democrats, the latter by the Whigs. Van Buren (Richard M. Johnson, Vice-President) was elected. The electoral vote stood 170 to 73 (beside 51 scattering votes); and the popular vote stood 761,656 to a total (for all Whig candidates) of 736,656.

The admission of the two new States of Arkansas (1836) and Michigan (early in 1837) raised the whole number to twenty-six.

367. Summary. — The chief political events of Jackson's administration were: (1) the establishment of rotation in office and the "spoils system" on a national scale; (2) the negotiation of treaties securing unrestricted direct trade with the West Indies, and the payment of the French spoliation claims; (3) the Webster and Hayne debate on the Constitution; (4) the rise of the Abolitionists; (5) the nullification movement in South Carolina; (6) the overthrow of the Bank of the United States.

This period was memorable, too, for the opening of the first American railroad; for the introduction of a number of important inventions; for the development of American literature, and the publication of the first cheap newspaper.

MARTIN VAN BUREN (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM, 1837–1841.

368. Van Buren's inaugural and slavery; financial crash and panic (1837). — All preceding presidents had carefully avoided the exciting subject of slavery in their inaugurals, but Van Buren (§ 366) spoke directly on that topic. He said: "I must go into the presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress

to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia (§ 365) against the wishes of the slave-holding States; and also with a determination to resist the slightest interference with it in the States where it exists."[901]

John Quincy Adams, the first great anti-slavery leader in Congress, had just declared that he would not support any petitions "for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.[902] More than a score of years later (1860) the Republican Party[903] and Charles Sumner explicitly denied that Congress had the right "to interfere with slavery in any State."[904] President Lincoln in his inaugural (1861) took the same position.[905]

But a more pressing question than that of slavery was now demanding solution. In his farewell address, President Jackson said: "I leave this great people prosperous and happy." In his inaugural, Van Buren said: "We present an aggregate of human prosperity surely not elsewhere to be found." Yet at the very moment when he uttered these confident words the country was on the verge of the severest financial panic it had ever experienced. The overtrading and reckless land speculation (§ 364), which had been pushed higher and higher for a number of years, now toppled over with a crash.

369. Business failures; application to the Government for relief. — In the spring of 1837 a large cotton firm failed in New Orleans; a New York house followed, and in ten days the failures in that city amounted to $27,000,000. Property of all kinds fell rapidly in value, and tracts of land which had been purchased at fabulous prices could not be sold for enough to pay the taxes. Strange to say, the country was actually in want of food. Many farmers had neglected cultivating their fields in the hope of making money by speculation. A poor harvest diminished the yield of wheat and corn still further, and the American people, with millions of acres of fertile soil, found themselves compelled to import breadstuffs from Europe.[906] All the necessaries of life rose in price, and there was great distress among the poor in New York and other cities.

A committee of prominent merchants made a piteous appeal to the President for help. They stated that the losses by shrinkage of real-estate values and local stocks in New York city alone exceeded $60,000,000. They declared that within eight weeks two hundred and fifty large business houses had failed, and that twenty thousand laboring men were parading the streets, destitute of food and unable to find work. The committee believed that the "specie circular" (§ 364) was one of the chief causes of "tight money" and of the general distress. Van Buren expressed his sympathy, but declined to make any change in this respect. He was convinced that the "specie circular" was not the real cause of the panic, but was simply the pin which had pricked the bubble of speculation.[907] He said, in substance, that instead of praying to the Government for aid, men must put their shoulders to the wheel, get the load out of the slough, and so find that "Heaven helps those" — and those only — "who help themselves."[908]

370. **Bank failures; the Government suspends specie payment; repudiation; causes of the panic.** — One of the deposit or "pet" banks (§ 363) in New York failed, and shortly afterward all the other banks in the city suspended payment. Those elsewhere speedily followed their example. Coin now disappeared from circulation, and the country was soon flooded with all kinds of "shin-plaster" currency.

The suspension of the deposit banks compelled the federal Government to refuse to make payments in gold and silver. A number of States, unable to raise money by taxation, repudiated the interest on their debts, and in some cases refused to pay the debts themselves. Later, however, these States resumed payment, either partially or wholly.[909] John Quincy Adams believed that the distribution of the treasury surplus of $28,000,000 (§ 364) was the chief cause of the financial distress. He said: "We present, at the present moment, a most astonishing and portentous spectacle to the world — without a dollar of national debt we are in the midst of national bankruptcy."[910]

Van Buren called a special session of Congress in the autumn of 1837 to consider what action should be taken respecting the deposit of the government funds. He attributed[911] the panic to four causes: (1) the enormous multiplication of banks; (2) the borrowing of more than $30,000,000 of foreign money by individual States; (3) reckless speculation in wild lands (§ 364); (4) the expenditure of vast sums in "ruinously improvident" systems of internal improvements (§ 364).

By the spring of 1838 the sharpest period of the panic had passed, but the next year there was a partial relapse in the South, owing to the sudden fall in the price of cotton from sixteen cents to five cents per pound.

371. Van Buren proposes the independent treasury system; socialistic experiments. — The President recommended Congress to abolish the system of depositing the government money in State banks, and to establish an independent treasury system. He argued that if the Government deposited its revenues in its own vaults, the money would not only be absolutely safe, but it could not be used for speculation or for political purposes. Congress did not then heed the President's recommendation, but later (1840) adopted it. The act establishing the independent treasury system was, however, soon repealed, but was reënacted some years later (1846) as it stands to-day.

Meanwhile the hard winter of 1837–1838 bore fruit in other ways. Horace Greeley wrote a series of articles on "What shall be done for the Laborer?" This led to the suggestion of the establishment of communal farms, to be cultivated by the coöperation of several hundred families.[912] The Shakers and the Rappites were successful examples of such communities. They, however, had been established on a religious basis, while Greeley and other thinkers proposed to make their experiments industrial and educational.

In the course of a few years several such communities were started. One of the most noted of these was that at "Brook Farm," near Boston. It was begun by an exceptionally intelli-

gent and earnest band of men and women. They believed that by honest, well-directed, harmonious labor they could succeed in showing the world the advantages of coöperative industry joined to "plain living and high thinking." Like most of these well-meant projects, it attracted its full proportion of "dreamers and schemers," and the pressure of untoward circumstances soon put an end to what Emerson called an attempt to organize "a perpetual picnic." Some of the purely industrial communities founded about the same time still flourish.[913]

372. **The Mormons found Nauvoo; Millerism and Spiritualism.** — During the latter half of Van Buren's administration, the Mormons, or "Latter Day Saints," attracted much attention in the West. The founder of the organization was Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, who had in early life removed to western New York. Smith declared that an angel appeared to him (1827) and directed him where to dig up a remarkable volume called the "Book of Mormon."[914] Smith and his followers regarded this book as a special divine revelation made to the people of America. They declared that its authority was equal to that of the Bible, and that it was a necessary supplement to the Christian gospels. Smith proclaimed himself the "Prophet" of the new religion. He made a number of converts, and planted missions in Ohio and Missouri.

Later, the "Latter Day Saints" were driven out of these States; they then settled in Illinois. There they obtained an unusually liberal charter, and founded (1840) the "sacred city" of Nauvoo on a bend of the Mississippi River. The population of Nauvoo eventually reached about 15,000. This made it the largest city in the State.

Smith was the supreme head of the Church and of the civil and military power of this flourishing community which was noted for its industry, temperance, and thrift. As head of the Mormon corporation he could marshal an army of trained militia some four thousand strong, and another and still larger army of voters casting a solid ballot. Governor Ford said that with-

out their aid no one could hope to get office.[915] Political opponents accused them of plotting to obtain control of the State. They asserted that when the followers of Smith had acquired sufficient strength, they would drive the "Gentile" inhabitants out of Illinois as the "Children of Israel" drove the heathen out of Canaan.

The Mormon leader professed to make the example of the Hebrew patriarchs his guide in many things. He now (1843) declared that he had received a new revelation from heaven respecting marriage. This revelation recommended the establishment of polygamy,[916] though the formal, public declaration of the doctrine was not made until 1852. Shortly after this, several of the "Saints," who had either seceded from the Mormon body, or had been expelled from it, began the publication of a paper in Nauvoo in which they boldly accused the "Prophet" of leading a profligate life.[917] The Mormon authorities at once broke up the paper, and the publishers fled to Carthage. Smith at first defied the officers of the law sent to arrest him, but finally gave himself up and was carried to Carthage and imprisoned. The report got about that Governor Ford intended to discharge him without a trial; a mob collected, attacked the jail, and shot the "Prophet" (1844).

After Smith's death Brigham Young, one of the "Twelve Apostles" of the "Latter Day Saints," became their leader. The feeling in Illinois continued to grow more and more bitter against the Mormons who then numbered about twenty thousand. Their peculiar religious teachings and their political power roused the fear and hatred of the "Gentiles." They were forced (1846) to abandon Nauvoo. Under the leadership of Brigham Young, they crossed the Rocky Mountains, then the western boundary of the United States, and settled (1847) on Mexican soil in what is now Utah.[918]

There, in the midst of an alkali desert where rain rarely fell, and in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, — the American Dead Sea, — they began to erect their new Zion. Starting with no

capital but their hands, they transformed the desolate and arid wilderness into a garden, and made the desert "rejoice and blossom as the rose."

About the time that Mormonism was exerting its influence in Illinois, William Miller made an address in New York State, declaring (1843) that the end of the world was at hand. He readily found listeners to his teachings, and some enthusiastic followers stopped doing business, gave away their property, and prepared their ascension robes.[919] In New York State a few years later (1848), certain mysterious rappings, known as the "Rochester Knockings," began to attract attention in that city. They were produced through the agency or "mediumship" of the Fox sisters. These rappings gave rise to the widespread movement known as modern Spiritualism.[920]

373. Slavery agitation in Congress; the second Seminole War. — Meanwhile, notwithstanding the "gag-rule" (§ 365), there was intense excitement in Congress over slavery; Lovejoy, the editor of an anti-slavery paper in Alton, Illinois, was shot in a riot (1837) while defending his printing-office. His death gave fresh impetus to the abolition movement in New England, and added Wendell Phillips to the Garrisonian ranks (§ 353).

Calhoun (1837) offered a series of six resolutions in the United States Senate on the subject of the relations of the federal Government to slavery. In the last resolution he declared that any "intermeddling" by the States or by Congress with slavery in the District of Columbia, or in the territories, under the pretext that "it is immoral or sinful," would be a "direct and dangerous attack" on Southern institutions.[921] Clay offered two amendments; the first slightly changed the wording of Calhoun's resolution in regard to the interference with slavery in the District of Columbia; the second declared that the people of any territory, when it should be admitted as a State, should decide the question "exclusively for themselves" whether they would or would not have slavery. The resolutions were then adopted by a large majority.[922] In the House, John Quincy

Adams continued to offer (§ 365) petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, for the dissolution of the Union and for various other objects. In a single day he presented several hundred such papers.[923] In one instance he offered a petition which professed to come from a number of slaves. The excitement became almost a riot; members crowded around Mr. Adams, shouting, "Expel him!" "Expel him!" After the tumult had somewhat subsided, Mr. Adams dryly explained that in this case the slaves had petitioned against abolition, not for it.[924] He continued to fight against the "gag-rules," session after session, until finally after eight years of battle he succeeded in getting them repealed (1844).

The Seminole War which had begun (1817) under Monroe (§ 317) broke out anew under Van Buren. Osceola, chief of the tribe, visited the American camp under promise of safety; but he was thrown into prison and detained until his death (1838). This caused the outbreak. Colonel Zachary Taylor defeated the Indians in a decisive battle, but the war dragged on in the swamps of Southern Florida for several years longer. At length, after having spent more than $20,000,000, or four times what we originally paid for the Florida Territory, the Indians were compelled to remove to the far West (1842).

374. **Harnden's express; the daguerreotype; ocean steamship lines established; immigration.** — In 1839 W. F. Harnden, of Massachusetts, began the business of carrying parcels in a handbag between Boston and New York City. In this humble way he founded the American express system, the most perfect of its kind in the world. It now extends to every town in the United States, employs a capital amounting to many millions, and keeps an army of men busy day and night.[925]

In the autumn of the same year (1839) Samuel F. B. Morse, then in New York, took the first American photograph. He constructed his apparatus by means of drawings which Daguerre, the inventor of the process, sent him from France, and succeeded in greatly reducing the time required for taking a picture.[926]

We have seen that the first American ocean steamship crossed the Atlantic in 1819 (§ 319). Nearly twenty years elapsed before the experiment was again tried; then two English steamers, the "Sirius" and the "Great Western," arrived in New York on the same day (1838). Two years later (1840) Samuel Cunard, the son of a Philadelphia merchant, established the first regular line between England and America, by sending the "Britannia" from Liverpool to Boston. The Cunard Company soon put on a second regular line to New York.[927]

By means of fast packets, and later by steamers, immense numbers of immigrants soon began to pour into our ports. The terrible famine in Ireland (1845–1846) and political troubles on the Continent greatly stimulated this influx of settlers. In ten years (1840–1850) the number of arrivals averaged nearly four thousand a week. The greatest number came from Ireland; Germany ranked next, then England, and, last of all, France and the other countries of Europe. The total number of immigrants that arrived from the close of the Revolution to 1896 was upwards of 18,000,000.[928] A large proportion of the foreigners now coming are Italians, and Russian and Polish Jews.

The immigrants of the earlier period were generally young men and women, full of vigor, who came here eager to grapple with the Western wilderness. Their labor developed the resources of the country, and enormously increased its wealth and prosperity. They rarely went South, where free labor was not wanted; they generally voted the Democratic ticket, but had no interest in the extension of slavery; they knew nothing of the doctrine of "State-rights," and gave their influence and their votes to the cause of the Union.

On the other hand, this immigration often indirectly encouraged the municipal corruption which has disgraced so many of our city governments. Recently, many important reforms have been effected in this respect, and the prospects indicate that the improvement will go on.

375. The presidential election 1840; the "log-cabin and hard-cider" campaign. — The party which happens to be in power during a period of business and financial depression is sure to have much of the blame for "hard times" cast upon it. The Whigs believed Van Buren and his supporters were responsible for the panic of 1837 (§ 369), and nominated William Henry Harrison for President, with John Tyler, of Virginia, as Vice-President; the Democrats renominated Van Buren. The Abolitionists, or Liberty Party, now for the first time appeared in national politics, and nominated James G. Birney, one of their leading men, for the presidency.

Harrison, the "old hero of Tippecanoe" (§ 297), was then living in a very humble way on a small farm in southern Ohio. An opposition journal ridiculed the idea of an attempt to make such a man the head of the nation. "Give him a log-cabin and a barrel of hard cider," said the editor, "and he will stay content in Ohio."[929] The Whigs found their rallying cry in these words. They at once set up a great shout for "the log-cabin candidate."

Then began the most exciting political campaign the country had ever seen. Clay, Webster, Everett, and Choate "took the stump" for "Harrison and Reform." The Whigs held gigantic mass-meetings, and marched in processions miles long. Everywhere one saw log-cabins, barrels of hard cider, and live coons; the whole country rang with the rousing chorus of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." Harrison spoke to "ten acres of people" at Dayton, Ohio, and pledged himself, if elected, "to abridge the power and influence of the national Executive."[930] For the first time in forty years the Democrats were beaten, and Harrison and Tyler were elected.

Before the campaign Harrison had not clearly identified himself with either the Whigs or the Democrats. Tyler had been a "strict constructionist" (§ 256) and a Calhoun Democrat, strongly favoring "State-rights," or "State-sovereignty." It was believed, however, that he would throw his influence on the

Whig side; his nomination was made as a bid for Southern votes. The electoral vote stood 234 to 60; the popular vote 1,275,017 to 1,128,702.

376. **Summary.**— Van Buren's administration began clouded by a disastrous panic which involved the whole country in ruinous loss. Through the President's earnest efforts Congress adopted the "independent treasury system," but it was not permanently established until after he left office.

The Mormons made a strong settlement in Illinois, and when expelled from that State they emigrated to Salt Lake Valley in the Mexican Territory of Utah.

The establishment of regular lines of ocean steamers and of fast packets tended to encourage immigration, and had an important influence on the West and on national politics.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (WHIG), ONE TERM, 1841–1845.

377. **Harrison's death; Tyler's succession.** — General Harrison (§ 375) was an old man when he entered office. The excitement of the campaign, Clay's dictatorial ways, and the persistent demands of crowds of greedy office-seekers proved too much for his failing strength, — a month after his inauguration, the President lay dead in the White House. The whole country was startled, for his death raised Tyler to the presidency. Such an event had never occurred before, and Tyler's political principles (§ 375) were very different from those which Harrison had held.

In their fancied security the people had jocosely dubbed the Vice-President, "His superfluous Excellency." Congress hesitated what title to give Mr. Tyler, but he promptly informed them that he was now President of the United States "by the Constitution, by election, and by the hand of God." [981]

378. **Tyler vetoes the "Fiscal Bank" Bill.** — The first move made by the Whigs was to repeal the Independent Treasury Act (§ 371), and to attempt to pass a bill reviving the

national bank (§ 359) under the name of the "Fiscal Bank of the United States." The President vetoed the bill (1841) on the ground of unconstitutionality, since it granted the bank the right to establish branches in various States without asking their consent.[933] Congress then prepared a new bill which the President vetoed (1841) on substantially the same grounds that he had the first.[933]

This second veto roused a storm of denunciation. Every member of the Cabinet, except Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, promptly resigned. The majority of the Whigs in both Houses united in an address to the people, in which they declared (1841) that "the President . . . has voluntarily separated himself from those by whose exertions and suffrages he was elevated to that office." They closed their address by protesting against the attempt of "one man" to control "the will of the nation."[934]

The Whigs of Massachusetts held a meeting at which they resolved that "all political connection between them and John Tyler was at an end from that day forth."[935] In future only a few members of Congress, nicknamed the "Corporal's guard," upheld the President. The deadlock between him and the Whigs was not broken until just as he was leaving office, and the policy of the administration throughout was virtually Democratic.

379. The "Dorr rebellion"; the "anti-renters."—Meanwhile a controversy in Rhode Island over a change in the State constitution threatened to end in civil war. Under its ancient charter the right of suffrage in that State was limited to landowners (holding an estate valued at not less than $134) and to their eldest sons.

This provision now caused great inequality of representation. Newport had six members in the Legislature, while the city of Providence, with a population nearly three times larger, had only four. Repeated efforts had been made to remedy this inequality, but without effect. In 1841 a popular Convention,

or mass-meeting, framed the "People's Constitution"; it established universal suffrage and equal representation.[936] A little later (1842) the Legislature summoned a Convention which adopted the "Landholder's Constitution"; it made universal suffrage the rule for all natives of the State, but withheld that right from naturalized citizens unless they owned landed property.

Both constitutions were submitted to popular vote; the "People's" was accepted, the "Landholder's" rejected. The Legislature believed that the victory had been gained by fraud,[937] and forbade the Free Suffrage Party putting the new constitution in force. The Free Suffragists paid no attention to this prohibition, and elected (1842) Thomas W. Dorr, Governor, though Samuel W. King then held that position under the old charter. King and Dorr both threatened to maintain their respective authority by force of arms, but Dorr's followers abandoned him. He was arrested, convicted of treason, and sent to prison for life; but was pardoned out a few years later. Before the close of 1842 a regularly organized State Convention adopted a new constitution which put an end to the old charter government, and practically granted manhood suffrage, or all that the Free Suffrage Party asked.

While this bloodless revolution was going on in Rhode Island, the tenants of the Van Rensselaer and other old patroon estates (§§ 57, 58) in New York started an anti-rent movement. The dispute became serious, but was finally settled by the landlords consenting to sell the estates at a reduced valuation.[938] This gave the purchasers a freehold title, and virtually put an end to the patroon system.[939]

380. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty; slavery agitation. — The boundary between the Northeastern States and Canada had not been definitely fixed by the treaty of peace with Great Britain made in 1783. The territory in dispute was chiefly that between Maine and Canada; it was a little over 12,000 square miles in extent, and the controversy in regard to it threatened

to involve the two countries in war. Negotiations for a settlement of this dangerous question were opened by Great Britain and the United States, through Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster, aided by Judge Story.

A treaty was made (1842) which: (1) secured to us more than half of the tract of land claimed by Maine; (2) it established a new boundary line from the Bay of Fundy to the Rocky Mountains; (3) it made provision for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice. In the course of the negotiations, Mr. Webster wrote Lord Ashburton respecting the unsettled question of impressments (§§ 299, 312). He stated that henceforth it must be distinctly understood that the crew of an American vessel would "find their protection in the flag which is over them."[940]

In the House, John Quincy Adams, the venerable champion of freedom and free speech (§§ 365, 373), found a young and vigorous coadjutor in Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio. Giddings detested slavery as heartily as the most zealous of the New England Abolitionists. He offered a series of resolutions (1842) declaring that, since slavery was an abridgment of the natural rights of man, it could not be constitutionally extended beyond the States it then occupied.[941] The House censured Giddings; he resigned, but was immediately reëlected by a large majority, and returned to renew the battle in behalf of free soil.

At the same time (1842) the Supreme Court of the United States (*Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*) decided that under the law of 1793 (§ 257), the national Government could not compel the local officers of a State to take part in the arrest or return of runaway negroes.[942] This decision naturally created much excitement in the South, and that section demanded the enactment of a new and more stringent fugitive-slave law.

The growing irritation on this subject was aggravated by the refusal of Governor Seward, of New York, to give up certain white citizens charged at the South with stealing slaves. This provoked Virginia and South Carolina to enact a law ordering the imprisonment, while in port, of all colored seamen arriving

on New York vessels.[943] Later (1844), Mr. Hoar, of Boston, was sent by his State to Charleston to secure the liberation of several such seamen who were citizens of Massachusetts, — a State which had declined to give any aid in enforcing the return of fugitive slaves. The people of Charleston retaliated by compelling Mr. Hoar to leave the city.[944]

381. The question of the annexation of Texas. — But the question of the extension of slave-holding territory in the Southwest was now coming to the front. When Houston became President of the "Lone Star Republic" of Texas (§ 329), he was fully resolved to secure its annexation to the United States. The South was eager to aid him to accomplish his object.[945] The people of that section felt that the annexation of a large area of slave-holding territory was demanded by the law of political self-preservation. They furthermore declared that the market price of negroes would thereby be greatly increased.[946]

The Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 (§ 324) had made the whole territorial area of the Louisiana purchase, free soil north of the parallel of 36° 30′, — the State of Missouri alone excepted. It seemed plain that unless the South could obtain Texas, slavery must soon be girdled by free States; in that case, the power of the slave-holding class in Congress would be driven to the wall by an ever-increasing majority of Northern representatives.[947]

Calhoun urged immediate annexation, not only as a measure necessary to the political and commercial welfare of the South, but as the only effective method of preventing Great Britain from getting control of Texas.[948] Lord Brougham (1843) implored Parliament to use its influence to effect the emancipation of the slaves in Texas, saying that the success of such a movement "must end in the abolition of slavery throughout the whole of America."[949] Calhoun believed that by adopting this course, England hoped to secure a monopoly of the production of sugar, cotton, rice, and tobacco for her colonies.[950]

On the other hand, Benton, one of the leaders of the Democratic Party, who was himself a slave-holder, denounced the annexation project. He ridiculed the idea that Great Britain had any designs on Texas.[951] He declared that the annexation scheme was urged mainly by three classes: first, by certain politicians who were intriguing for the Presidency; secondly, by those who were plotting to dissolve the Union in order to form a Southern slave-holding Confederacy; and thirdly, by Southern speculators who held Texas scrip or Texas lands.[952]

382. Sectional excitement over the question of annexation. — The excitement over the discussion of the Texas question rose to fever heat. Eight Northern Legislatures protested against annexation. They declared that it would tend to nationalize slavery, and that it would involve us in a war with Mexico, which absolutely refused to recognize Texan independence.

John Quincy Adams, with twelve members of Congress, published an address, declaring that annexation would not only "result in a dissolution of the Union," but would fully "justify it."[953]

On the other hand, mass-meetings were held in various parts of South Carolina, at which it was resolved that it would be better "to be out of the Union with Texas than in it without her."[954] But both at the South and the North there were strong protests on the part of influential citizens and prominent journals against the utterance of threats of disunion.[955]

383. Texas and the presidential campaign. — Meanwhile President Tyler, with the help of Upshur, his Secretary of State, followed by Calhoun, was quietly but vigorously pushing forward the scheme of annexation. As the time drew near for the nomination of presidential candidates, the feeling on this question daily became more intense.

The Liberty Party (§ 375) held its National Convention first (1843), and again nominated James G. Birney. Their platform strongly condemned any attempt to extend slavery.[956]

The Whig Party at their Convention (1844) nominated Henry Clay, and adopted a brief "broad-construction" (§ 256) platform, advocating the establishment of a protective tariff and a national currency; their platform did not mention slavery.[957]

The Democratic National Convention (1844) adopted a "strict-construction" (§ 256) platform. They deprecated any interference by Congress with the question of slavery as dangerous to the stability of the Union, and resolved that "the reoccupation of Oregon (§ 389) (then held jointly with Great Britain) and the reannexation of Texas (§ 318) at the earliest practicable period are great American measures which this Convention recommends."[958] They nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, an "unconditional annexationist,"[959] for President.

The Southern Whigs urged Clay to soften his outspoken opposition to the immediate annexation of Texas, fearing that otherwise he would lose many votes at the South. Clay yielded and wrote a letter for publication, in which he said of annexation: "I should be glad to see it . . . upon just and fair terms. I do not think that the subject of slavery ought to affect the question one way or the other."[960] The Whigs were confident that they could elect their candidate; but this letter repelled the vote of the anti-slavery members of that party. Clay was defeated, and the Democrats elected Polk, — the first political "dark horse" — with George M. Dallas as Vice-President. The electoral vote stood 170 for Polk to 105 for Clay, and the popular vote 1,337,243 to 1,299,088.

384. Texas annexed (1845); admission of Florida and Texas; new tariff. — The question of annexation came up in Congress for the last time in the closing days of Tyler's administration. It was doubtful whether the necessary two-thirds vote could be obtained in the Senate; Congress, therefore, resorted to the expedient of carrying the measure through by a joint resolution which simply required a majority of each House. The motion to annex was passed, and with it an amendment proposed by Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, which prohibited slavery in the

Texan territory north of the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′ (§ 324), but left all territory south of that line open to it.[961] The entire area thus annexed had an extent of over 376,000 square miles. It was expected that Texas would be divided into at least five States, — one free, and the rest slave.

The passage of the vote was triumphantly announced from the capitol by the firing of one hundred guns. Texas was the

The Republic of Texas annexed in 1845, and admitted to the Union, Dec. 29 of that Year.

(The black and white bars on the southwest indicate the disputed territory which caused the Mexican War. The "Oregon Country" was held jointly with Great Britain.)

last slave State to enter the Union; but it was not admitted until the Congress of the next administration met (1845) and after Florida had entered. The Texans grievously disappointed the South by refusing to divide their immense territory; hence, the Pro-Slavery Party in the Southern States did not gain the large increase in political power which it had confidently expected to obtain.

Meanwhile the "compromise tariff" of 1833 (§ 355) had cut down the customs-duties to such an extent that the Treasury was

threatened with empty vaults. The Whigs, therefore, repealed the law and passed a new tariff act (1842); it was mainly intended for revenue, though it had some protective features.

385. Professor Morse invents the electric telegraph. — As the annexation of Texas was the most important political event of the Harrison and Tyler administration, so the application of electricity to the transmission of intelligence was the most important event in our material progress. Franklin (§ 181) said in 1750: "There are no bounds (but what expense and labor give) to the force man may raise and use in the electrical way." But for more than three-quarters of a century after that philosopher made his experiments, little was accomplished in the direction which he had pointed out. Then (1831) Professor Joseph Henry (later connected with the Smithsonian Institute) invented an electro-magnet which would transmit a current over a mile or more of wire, and ring a bell at the farther extremity. Taking the hint from this apparatus, Professor Samuel F. B. Morse (§ 374) invented (1832) the first recording telegraph which would make permanent intelligible characters. Professor Morse's partner, Mr. Alfred Vail, developed and perfected these characters, and so formed the "dot-and-dash alphabet," which was finally adopted.

But electricity had not yet been compelled to fulfill its task. The current failed after it had travelled a short distance. The question was how to overcome this difficulty. Mr. Morse said: "If it will go ten miles without stopping, I can make it go around the globe"; but it would not go ten miles. At length, after many failures, he succeeded in inventing a relay-magnet which would reinforce the current, and send it to any distance. Then the problem was solved.[962]

386. Congress appropriates $30,000 to build the first telegraph; the line opened (1844). — Professor Morse, with his partner, Mr. Vail, publicly exhibited (1837) a small model of the telegraph, but capitalists declined to risk their money in constructing a trial line. The inventor then petitioned Con-

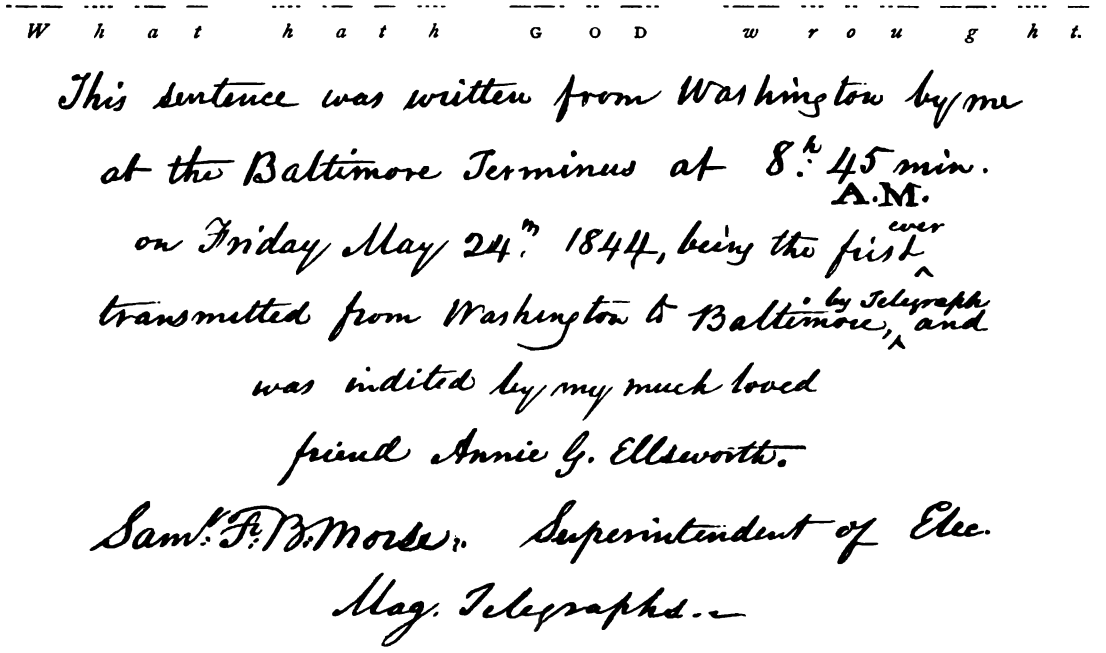
gress to grant him $30,000 to build a line between Washington and Baltimore. His petition was generally treated with ridicule. One member suggested that if the money should be voted, part of it ought to be used for making mesmeric experiments, while another suggested that the funds would be more wisely employed in building a railroad to the moon.[963]

The last day of the session (March 3, 1843) was reached, but Congress had taken no action. Professor Morse was almost penniless. He saw nothing but failure and ridicule before him. He waited in the capitol until a few minutes before midnight, and then, unable to endure the strain, left the building with a sinking heart. He had hardly gone when Congress took up his bill and passed it without division.

The spring of 1844 saw the Washington and Baltimore telegraph line completed and in working order. On May 24, Professor Morse, sitting in the old Supreme Court-room in the capitol, sent over the wire these words, quoted from Scripture: "What hath God wrought!"[964] Two days later the National Democratic Convention, then in session in Baltimore, flashed the report of Polk's nomination to the presidency to Congress.[965] The following day (May 27, 1844) the heading "Telegraphic News" appeared in a Washington journal for the first time in the world's history; it has never since been dropped.[966]

Professor Morse lived to see his line of forty miles multiplied in the United States more than three thousand fold;[967] he saw the American continent (1856) crossed, and the Atlantic Ocean (1866) cabled by permanent electric wires.

387. Development of telegraphic communication and of electricity. — To-day (1897) a network of more than 800,000 miles of telegraphic wire covers the United States. Like a gigantic nervous system, it stretches from city to city and from town to town. It practically puts every center of population throughout the Union in instantaneous communication with every other, and with the remotest parts of the civilized globe besides.



MORSE'S LETTER CONCERNING THE FIRST TELEGRAM. By permission of the Century Co.

The next great step in electrical progress was the invention of the telephone by Professor Bell (1876). It brings places as far apart as Boston and Chicago within speaking distance of each other.[968] When it shall be still further perfected, the "long-distance telephone" promises to make it possible to carry on a conversation between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, or even between America and Europe.

Meanwhile various experiments had been made with electricity, with the view of using it as an illuminator or to propel machinery. No practical results of value were obtained until the invention of the arc light[969] and the Edison incandescent light (1879).

Five years later (1884) Edison set in operation at Menlo Park, New Jersey, two miles of electric railway, — the first opened to the American public.[970] Electricity has ever since been coming into use on an increasing scale. It drives light machinery, and it has superseded horses to a large extent on our street railroads. The day is perhaps not far distant when it will be employed to operate long lines of railway; and should the "storage system" be perfected, we may yet see it used in propelling vessels on the Atlantic.

388. Summary.—The three most important national events of the Harrison and Tyler administration were: (1) the negotiation of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty; (2) the invention of the electric telegraph; and (3) the annexation of Texas as a slave State.

JAMES K. POLK (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM, 1845–1849.

389. The Oregon question. — Now that Texas was annexed (§ 384), the question came up whether we should make good the Democratic demand (§ 383) for the occupation of Oregon. This region, called by an Indian name used by Jonathan Carver in 1766, lay between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. On the south it extended to the 42d parallel, or the northern limit of the Mexican province of California; on the north to

latitude 54° 40′, or the southern boundary of the Russian possessions (Alaska).

Spain, through her early voyagers (1543–1774), planted her flag on the Oregon coast; the English explorers (1579–1793) also claimed it.[971] The Government of the United States disputed both these claims. We based our title: (1) on Captain Gray's discovery and partial exploration of the Columbia River in 1792 (§ 258); (2) on the exploration made by Lewis and Clark in 1805–1806 (§ 283); (3) on emigration and settlement, beginning with Astor's fur-trading post, established in 1810 (§ 312), and continued by missionaries and pioneers from 1832; (4) on the transfer of all Spanish claims to us by the Florida purchase treaty of 1819 (§ 318). The conflict of the British and American claims was adjusted by an agreement made in 1818 and confirmed in 1827. It stipulated that the two nations should occupy the Oregon country jointly, with the proviso that either Government might terminate the agreement by giving a year's notice to the other.[972] This arrangement was in force when Polk entered office.

390. What America thought of Oregon. — Before the construction of railroads, the Oregon country seemed to many American statesmen hardly worth disputing about. Its enormous distance from Washington made it a question whether it could be advantageously added to the Union, or securely retained. Jefferson thought (1811) that Oregon might become an independent American nation "unconnected with us, but by the ties of blood and interest."

Benton declared that the Rocky Mountains ought to be regarded as the "natural and everlasting" western boundary of the United States.[973] Webster is represented as saying of Oregon: "What do we want with this vast worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus, and prairie dogs?"[974] But John Quincy Adams believed that the Pacific coast belonged to us by "manifest destiny";[975] Benton, too, became a convert to

the same idea, and ardently advocated our settlement of that distant region. His bronze statue in St. Louis stands pointing toward the Rocky Mountains, with his words, "There is the East; there is the road to India!" inscribed on the pedestal.[976]

391. Our occupation of the Oregon country; Whitman's journey; the treaty. — The permanent American settlement of the Oregon country did not begin until 1834, when the Methodists sent out missionaries to the Indians. A little later (1836) two Orthodox missionaries, Dr. Whitman and H. H. Spalding, started with their brides to make a home in the wilderness of the far West. They went out by the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains (§ 405), and were the first emigrants who succeeded in getting a wagon across the country to Fort Boisé (Idaho), and eventually to Walla Walla, on a tributary of the Columbia. Dr. Whitman's wagon naturally suggested the emigration of families,[977] for where one wheeled vehicle could go, more could follow.

Six years later (1842) Dr. Whitman heard that a party of British emigrants were on their way to the valley of the Columbia. He at once resolved to go to Washington and plead the cause of the Oregon country. After a terrible winter journey of four thousand miles, he reached the national capital in the spring of 1843. He convinced the President that Oregon was worth saving, and that a wagon-train of settlers could be conveyed there in safety. On his return (1843) he went as guide to eight hundred emigrants, and successfully piloted them through to the Columbia. These emigrants united with other American settlers and framed a provisional government for the territory.[978]

The northern boundary of the Oregon country, as held jointly by the United States and Great Britain (§ 389), was 54° 40′. In 1846 the political cry was: "The whole of Oregon or none!" "Fifty-four forty or fight" (§ 332). But a little later our contest with Mexico made the Government willing to concede a part of the disputed territory to the demands of Great

Britain. A treaty was negotiated (1846) which fixed our northern boundary at the 49th parallel. This gave us the absolute control of the Columbia River and possession of about 300,000 square miles of territory, out of which the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming were subsequently formed. Two years later (1848) Congress

The United States in 1846 after the Acquisition, by Treaty, of the "Oregon Country."

organized Oregon Territory. Calhoun demanded that, in common with all of the public domain, it should be declared open to slavery; but Congress applied to it the provisions of the celebrated Ordinance of 1787 (§ 237), and thus prohibited slavery forever within the new Territory.[979]

392. The Texan boundary dispute. — Before we got possession of Texas, Webster, Clay, and Benton declared that if we annexed it (§ 384) we should "annex a war with Mexico." Their predictions were soon fulfilled. Texas insisted that her western boundary was the Rio Grande. This was in accordance with the claim made by La Salle in the seventeenth century (§ 159), and which Spain and France had recognized by their

respective treaties (1800, 1803) (§§ 172, 280). The Republic of Mexico, however, contended that Texas did not extend farther west than the left bank of the Nueces. For this reason the strip of territory between that river and the Rio Grande was disputed ground, and each country vehemently denied that the other had any right to it.

393. Taylor's advance into the disputed territory; Arista's attack. — In the summer of 1845 the President ordered General Taylor, who was then in Texas, to cross the Nueces and take post at Corpus Christi, within the disputed territory.

Polk next (January, 1846) ordered him to advance as far as the Rio Grande. Taylor did so, and erected Fort Brown, opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras, on the farther bank of the river. Arista, the Mexican commander, notified General Taylor that he considered his advance an act of war, and requested him to fall back to the Nueces. Taylor refused to move; Arista then crossed the river (April 26, 1846), and surprised and captured a small party of American troops. In the fight several of our men were killed.

394. Polk's message to Congress; Lincoln's "Spot Resolutions." — President Polk at once sent a special message to Congress. He said: "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil." "War exists, and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself."[980] The United States forthwith declared war, and called for 50,000 volunteers.

When Abraham Lincoln entered Congress (1847) he presented his famous "Spot Resolutions," in which he asked the President to inform Congress, first, just where the "spot" was on which the blood of American citizens had been shed; and next, to state whether those Americans were or were not "armed soldiers," sent to that "spot" by his express orders.[981]

395. Palo Alto; Resaca de la Palma; Monterey. — Meanwhile General Taylor, with his army of less than 3000 men,

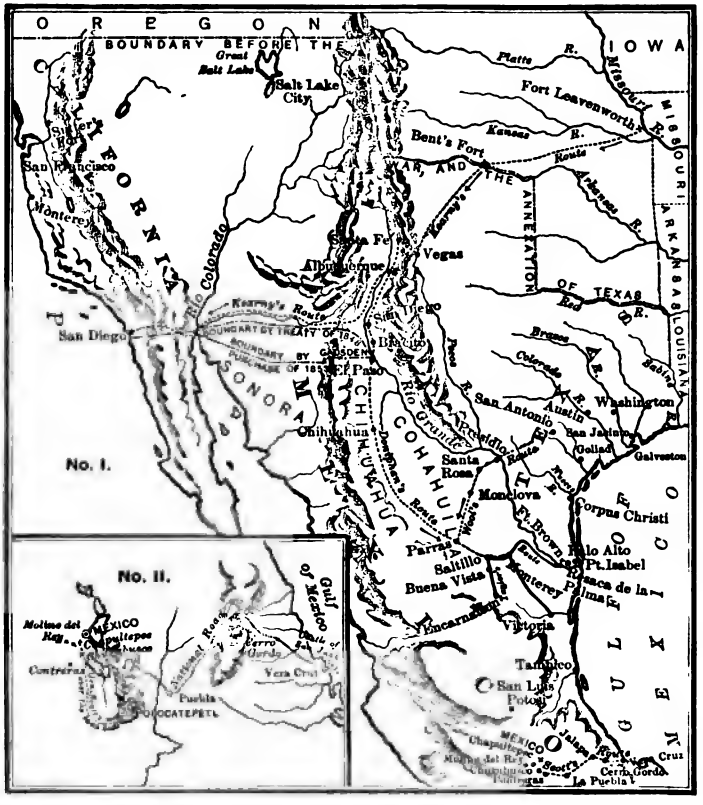
had advanced against a Mexican force of more than double that number. He fought a battle (May 8, 1846) on the marshy plain of Palo Alto, and followed it up the next day with the battle of the ravine of Resaca de la Palma. Both of these engagements took place within the disputed territory, between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; in each case we were successful, and the Mexicans were routed with heavy loss.

Taylor then crossed the Rio Grande, occupied Matamoras (§ 393), and advanced into the interior of Mexico, as far as the fortified town of Monterey. Here the enemy made a determined stand. Three days of desperate fighting followed (September 22–24, 1846); Taylor's men dug their way through the stone walls of the houses or climbed to the flat roofs, and fought their way, from street to street, till they took the city.

396. General Scott takes chief command; his plan of campaign; Buena Vista. — As it now seemed probable that the Mexicans would make a prolonged resistance, General Winfield Scott (§ 306), the senior officer in the United States army, was ordered to take the chief command. His plan was to leave Taylor with a small force to hold the line of the Rio Grande, while he embarked with an army to capture the fortified port of Vera Cruz. He then purposed moving directly on the city of Mexico, the capital of the Mexican Republic.

Meanwhile General Kearny, commander of the Department of the West, was to advance from Fort Leavenworth (Kansas) against Santa Fé, take possession of that city and of New Mexico, and then move forward and occupy the Mexican province of California. The Mormons (§ 372) raised a battalion which took part in this expedition of conquest, and helped to secure California for the United States.

Taylor's force was now about 4600 men; with this little army he resolved to hold the wild mountain pass of Buena Vista, to the southwest of Monterey (§ 395), against the enemy who were advancing to attack him. Santa Anna, the commander-in-chief of the Mexican army, surrounded Taylor with a force 20,000



Map No. I. The Mexican War; Map No. II. Scott's march to the City of Mexico.

strong; he then sent the American general a despatch, telling him that he must surrender or be cut to pieces. "Old Rough and Ready," as his men called him, determined to hold his ground, and the unequal contest began (February 22, 1847). Colonel Jefferson Davis, with his gallant Mississippians, and Captain Bragg, with his batteries hurling storms of grape shot, saved the day. Santa Anna retreated, and Buena Vista was recorded on our roll of victories, though it cost Taylor more than a sixth of his entire force to win it. This was Taylor's last battle; he resented what he considered to be political interference with his plans, and, leaving General Wool in command, returned late in 1847 to his home in Louisiana. The enthusiasm over Buena Vista made Taylor's name the Whig rallying cry as candidate for the presidency.[982]

397. Vera Cruz; Cerro Gordo; advance on Mexico.— Meanwhile General Scott, with less than 12,000 men, besieged and took Vera Cruz (§ 396), "the Gibraltar of Mexico" (March 27, 1847). Among the officers who made their mark in that victorious siege, two deserve especial notice — Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant and Captain Robert E. Lee.

Having captured the castle and port, Scott began his advance into the interior. He met the enemy on the rugged heights of Cerro Gordo. Santa Anna fled, and the Americans moved forward. In August (1847) our little force climbed the summit of the Cordilleras and looked down on the capital of Mexico, surrounded by lakes and sparkling in the sun. The city could not be approached except by the National Road — a causeway built across a marsh. Santa Anna posted a strong force to sweep that road with cannon. The venerable Duke of Wellington had followed, on a map, the advance of the American general to this point; then he said: "Scott is lost. . . . He can't take the city, and he can't fall back upon his base."[983]

398. Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec. — But Scott recalled Napoleon's maxim: "Never go

where your enemy wants you to go." He turned aside and made his way forward, by a circuitous route, over the rough lava beds, building his road and beating back the foe as he advanced. First he won the battle of Contreras (August 20, 1847), and on the following day, that of the convent of Churubusco. Next, after the bloodiest fight of the war, he took the cannon foundry of Molino del Rey (September 8, 1847). Less than a week later (September 13, 1847) he stormed the castle-crowned height of Chapultepec, which guarded the gate of the city.

399. Scott enters the city of Mexico (1847); end of the war; results.— The next day Scott entered the Mexican capital and hoisted the American flag (September 14, 1847) on the walls of the National Palace. The contest was now practically over, and the United States could dictate its own terms. The people of Mexico had fought bravely; but they were wretchedly organized, and utterly lacking in military training.

The conflict with Mexico is perhaps the only modern war in which every battle ended in victory, and every victory was on the side of the invading army. It was the training-school for the American Civil War. General Grant said that all the older officers who became conspicuous in that terrible struggle had served under Taylor or Scott.[984]

400. Frémont is sent to California. — When the Mexican War broke out, Captain John C. Frémont, Benton's son-in-law, was in the Mexican province of California. His explorations in the far West (1842–1844) had won for him the popular name of the "Pathfinder," and the Government sent him (1845) on a third expedition "to spy out" the coveted Mexican territory on the Pacific.[985]

In the spring of 1846 Frémont moved northward into Oregon. While there, a messenger from Washington arrived (May 9, 1846), bringing a verbal despatch from Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of War. This despatch, says Frémont,[986] informed him that "the Government intended to take California." He

was instructed to counteract any schemes of the British to get possession of that country, and at the same time to "conciliate the good will of the inhabitants toward the United States."[987]

401. Frémont takes Sonoma; the "bear flag."—Frémont at once returned to California and encamped near Sutter's Fort, in the valley of the Sacramento. Soon after his arrival a report was brought that Mexican forces were preparing to drive out all Americans. Frémont sent Merritt, one of his men, to capture Sonoma, a town about fifty miles north of San Francisco. Sonoma was quickly taken (June 14, 1846), and the Americans then hoisted the famous "bear flag." It was a strip of white cloth, on which they had painted a huge "grizzly" facing a star; underneath was the inscription:[988] "California Republic." Frémont, with his men, soon afterward fixed his headquarters at Sonoma. In commencing hostilities he had acted, says Benton, entirely on his own responsibility, and without orders from the Government.[989]

402. Capture of Monterey; conquest of California.—A little later, Commodore Sloat, then commanding a United States squadron off the coast, entered the harbor of Monterey, south of San Francisco. He ran up the "stars and stripes" (July 7, 1846), and proclaimed California "a portion of the United States."[990] A week later, Captain Montgomery raised the same colors at San Francisco. Admiral Seymour, in command of a British fleet, arrived shortly afterward at Monterey. He found to his astonishment the American flag flying over the town, the American squadron, then under Commodore Stockton, in its harbor, and Frémont's mounted riflemen in camp.[991]

The Americans proceeded to organize a civil government (August 13, 1846), and chose Frémont for Governor. Commodore Shubrick, of the United States navy, arrived in January (1847); acting in conjunction with Commodore Stockton and Governor Frémont, these three commanders completed the occupation of the province without any very serious fighting. Frémont got the lion's share of fame, and the people of Cali-

fornia have always considered him the real conqueror of the country.

403. **Treaty of peace (1848); territory ceded by Mexico; the Gadsden purchase (1853).**—A little more than a year later a treaty of peace was signed (February 2, 1848) between Mexico and the United States.[902] By its terms Mexico ceded to us the territory of California and New Mexico, for which we agreed

The United States in 1854, showing the Mexican Cessions of 1848 (namely, California, Utah, New Mexico) and the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 (indicated by date on map).

to pay $15,000,000. The treaty made the Rio Grande the western boundary of Texas, and the Gila River the northern boundary of Mexico.

The ceded territory included Utah, Nevada, and a part of Arizona, Colorado, and Wyoming. Adding Texas, this region formed a broad belt, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, and having an area of over 850,000 square miles, — or more than the entire American Republic possessed at the close of the Revolutionary War.

Five years later (1853), in order to settle a dispute respecting the Gila River boundary, Captain Gadsden purchased the

Mesilla Valley, a region south of that river, for the United States. For the sum of $10,000,000, we thus added a tract having an area of more than 45,000 square miles to our previous acquisitions.[993]

404. The new tariff; Independent Treasury Act; cheap postage; the Wilmot Proviso (1846); Calhoun's resolutions (1847); "Woman's Rights" Convention (1848). — Meanwhile the Democratic Congress had passed (1846) a new tariff act (§ 384), intended chiefly for revenue instead of "protection." In 1857 the duties on imports were still further lowered; this tariff remained in force until the spring of 1861, when the Morrill Tariff made the average rate of duty about 27 per cent — or somewhat higher than the rate of 1846.[994]

In the course of the same summer (1846) Van Buren's great measure, the Independent Treasury Act (§ 371), was permanently reënacted. Meanwhile (1845) Congress reduced the rate of postage to a maximum rate of ten cents — it had been twenty-five — and charged five cents for distances of three hundred miles and under. Two years later (1847) postage stamps were issued; but they did not come into general use until a number of years later. In 1863 postage on letters was reduced to three cents, and in 1883 to two cents. This rate is the cheapest in the world, since a two-cent stamp will carry a heavy letter from Key West, Florida, to Sitka, Alaska, a distance of over 4000 miles.

Shortly after the Mexican War began (1846), President Polk asked Congress for an appropriation of $2,000,000 to purchase territory from Mexico, in order to adjust the boundary. A bill was introduced to that end; David Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, offered the famous "Wilmot Proviso" (1846) as an amendment to this bill. It extended the provision of the Ordinance of 1787 (§ 237), which prohibited slavery, so that it would cover all territory which might be ceded to us by Mexico.[995] The Wilmot amendment passed the House, but did not reach the Senate in time to be acted upon. Every Northern Legislature but one approved of the measure; but the

Southern States, with few exceptions, passed resolutions refusing to submit to it. They protested against any legislation which should prevent slave-holders from taking their negroes with them into the public domain.[996]

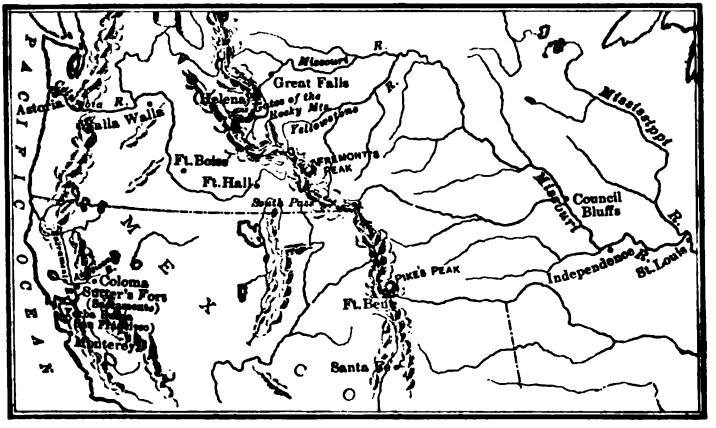
Though the "Wilmot Proviso" failed of adoption, yet it led to the organization, two years later, of the Free Soil Party, which was eventually absorbed by the Republican Party. After the beginning of the Civil War, Congress, by the Territorial Act (1862), accepted the principle of the proviso, and prohibited "slavery in any Territory of the United States now existing, or which may be hereafter formed or acquired." [997]

At the time of the passage of the Missouri Compromise Act (1820), Calhoun admitted the right of Congress to exclude slavery from the Territories (§ 324). But in 1837 he took the opposite ground (§ 373). In 1847 he again offered a series of resolutions in the Senate, in which he still more emphatically denied the constitutional power of Congress to shut out slavery from the public lands. He furthermore declared that the exercise of such power would necessarily lead to the dissolution of the Union.[998] These resolutions anticipated the Dred Scott decision of ten years later. No action was taken on Calhoun's motion. Soon afterward (1847) he wrote a letter to a member of the Alabama Legislature, in which he declared that he believed the South, instead of avoiding the slavery contest, should "force the issue on the North." He ended by saying that the true policy for the South to adopt was one of retaliation, and that they should close their ports against sea-going vessels from the offending Northern States, leaving open the trade of the West by the Mississippi. This course, said he, would be "a remedy short of disunion," while it would tend "to detach the Northwestern from the Eastern States." [999]

While this agitation respecting the extension of slavery was going on in and out of Congress, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Reverend Samuel J. May, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone were urging that women should stand on a

political equality with men. The first "Woman's Rights" Convention in the world was held at Seneca Falls, New York, in the summer of 1848. This meeting led to the organization of the National Woman Suffrage Convention which met in Worcester, Massachusetts, two years later (1850). The agitation thus begun has resulted in recent years in the admission of women, in several States, to equality of suffrage and power to hold office, and in admission to partial suffrage in a number of other States.[1000]

405. Discovery of gold in California. — Just before the treaty of peace with Mexico was signed (§ 403), gold was discovered (1848) in California. It was found in the newly dug



Lewis and Clark's Exploration (1804–1806); First Settlement of Oregon; Discovery of Gold in California.

mill-race of Captain Sutter's saw-mill at Coloma, on the American River. Specimens of the ore were carried to Governor Mason, and he, with Colonel W. T. Sherman, carefully tested them. The discovery caused no particular excitement, as it was not believed that the precious metal could be obtained in paying quantities.[1001] But early in May (1848) a Mormon walked through the little village of San Francisco, holding up a bottle

of yellow dust in one hand, swinging his hat with the other, and shouting at the top of his voice: "Gold! Gold! Gold from the American River!" [1002] Then the rush began, and soon the entire male population of San Francisco and vicinity was "off to the diggings."

The news was speedily transmitted to the East; a box of California gold was exhibited at the war-office at Washington, and the President spoke of the marvellous discovery in his message.[1003]

406. Emigration to California; the San Francisco "Vigilance Committee"; results of the production of gold. — A great movement of emigration to California at once began. From Maine to Texas thousands of men, armed with pick and shovel, crowded the ports on their way to the new El Dorado. The recently established line of Pacific mail-steamers could not carry the multitude that besieged their offices. In the height of the excitement emigrants eagerly paid a thousand dollars for steerage passage with the privilege of sleeping "in a coil of rope." [1004] Every kind of sailing-ship, whether seaworthy or not, was pressed into the service; and in a single year a thousand vessels entered the once almost solitary harbor of San Francisco.

The next spring (1849) the great overland march began. By the end of April twenty thousand men, women, and children had gathered at St. Joseph, Independence, and other points on the Missouri River, ready to cross the plains. They journeyed on horseback, on foot, and in huge, canvas-covered wagons, known as "prairie schooners." Multitudes died before they reached the Rocky Mountains; while others, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, were glad to stop at Salt Lake City (§ 372) and hire themselves out as day-laborers to the thrifty Mormon farmers. Those whom no hardship or suffering could daunt pressed on, until at last they descended the Sierras and entered the Land of Promise. Their weary pathway through the terrible wilderness was marked by the bleaching skeletons of horses and cattle, and by many newly made graves.[1005]

Nothing could check the movement, and at the close of 1849 between 80,000 and 100,000 emigrants had passed into California. The settlers respected free labor and adopted a State constitution prohibiting slavery.[1006]

The rapidly growing city of San Francisco naturally attracted many lawless and desperate characters. The inefficiency of the courts prompted the organization of a "Vigilance Committee" which practically governed the city from 1851 to 1856. It tried, convicted, and hanged several notorious criminals, drove many others out of the country, and, though acting without the law, it compelled the dangerous classes to respect law and order. In the end, this organization — the result of an awakening of the public conscience — brought about important municipal and legislative reforms.

Up to the time when gold was discovered on the Pacific coast, the value of the whole annual product of that metal in the United States was less than $250,000. In 1848 California alone produced $10,000,000; in 1849, $40,000,000; and by 1853 it had reached its maximum product of $65,000,000.[1007] The total amount obtained from 1848 to 1856 was $456,000,000, and the entire yield of the half-century (1848–1897) is estimated at upwards of $2,000,000,000.[1008] Yet the precious metal actually cost more labor than it was worth.

The enormous production of gold in California had far-reaching economic and political results: (1) it raised the price of goods and labor; (2) it opened new markets and extended commerce; (3) it filled a wilderness with settlers, stimulated the development of the Pacific coast, established new lines of steamships, and in time made a transcontinental railroad a necessity; (4) it was one of the causes which induced the majority of the nations of Europe (1870–1878) to stop the coinage of silver (except for "change"), and to adopt gold as their sole standard money; (5) it extended the domain of free labor on the Pacific coast, and effectually shut out slavery in all that part of the West.

407 Inventions and discoveries; the sewing-machine; ether. — It was during Polk's administration that Elias Howe patented (1846) what he called his "iron needlewoman" — the first practical sewing-machine. It revolutionized the manufacture of clothing and greatly reduced its price. It was feared that the sewing-machine would permanently throw large numbers of people out of work; but it has had just the opposite effect. Instead of contracting the field of hand labor, the introduction of machinery has actually extended it. At the same time the introduction of the telegraph, telephone, and typewriter have created new opportunities of employment for thousands.[1009]

A very remarkable discovery was now at hand. Dr. Horace Wells of Hartford, Connecticut, found (1844) by experiments in dentistry that he could produce insensibility to pain by the use of nitrous oxide gas. This discovery stimulated the efforts of Dr. W. T. G. Morton of Boston, a former partner of Dr. Wells, to endeavor to find a more convenient and effective anæsthetic. Dr. Charles T. Jackson of Boston suggested to Dr. Morton, then a student in his office, to try the inhalation of the vapor of sulphuric ether; to his surprise and delight it proved to be what he was seeking. In 1846 he obtained permission from the senior surgeon of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston to have a public test made in that institution. Late in the autumn of that year (October 16, 1846) the first important operation ever performed under ether took place beneath the dome of the hospital. The room was completely filled with physicians and eminent men of other professions, who had been invited to see the miracle of painless surgery. The operation was successfully performed while the patient slept as quietly under the knife as a child in its cradle.[1010]

It soon became known to the world that Dr. Morton had made the most beneficent contribution to medical science recorded in history, — one which must henceforth render every human being his debtor. In commemoration of his work his

monument in Mount Auburn Cemetery, near Boston, bears this inscription: "Before whom, in all time, surgery was agony. . . . Since whom, science has control of pain."

408. The presidential election; new States; slavery vs. freedom. — The Democratic National Convention (1848) nominated Lewis Cass on a "strict-construction" (§ 256) platform. The Whig National Convention nominated General Zachary Taylor (§ 396). Neither Convention would speak out on the question of the extension of slavery — a subject which was soon to be uppermost in politics. Finally a new party — the "Free Soilers" — held their National Convention. They were made up chiefly of two elements: the first was the Radical Democrats who were determined to stop the extension of slavery at any cost. Their opponents, the Conservative Democrats, or "Hunkers," compared them to the farmer who set fire to his barn to clear it of rats, and so nicknamed them "Barnburners." The second element in the Free Soil Party was the Abolitionists, or members of the old Liberty Party (§ 383). The Convention declared itself for "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." [1011] It nominated ex-President Martin Van Buren (§ 368).

The Whigs succeeded in what was called the "star-and-stripe campaign," and elected General Taylor, with Millard Fillmore as Vice-President. The electoral vote stood 163 to 127, and the popular vote 1,360,101 to 1,220,544, besides 291,263 cast by the Free Soilers for Van Buren.

Under Polk's administration three new States — Texas (1845), Iowa (1846), and Wisconsin (1848) — were admitted to the Union, making the whole number thirty. Half were free and half slave States. This division gave both sections equal representation in the Senate; but owing to the much larger population of the North (due in considerable measure to immigration) (§ 374), the free States had 139 representatives to 91 from the slave States.[1012] It was plain that unless the South could secure additional slave territory in some quarter, the free States would soon have the political control in Congress.

409. Summary. — The principal events of Polk's administration were: (1) the settlement of the Oregon question by treaty with Great Britain; (2) war with Mexico, and the acquisition of a large amount of territory; (3) the discovery of gold in California; (4) the discussion of slavery extension as represented in the Wilmot Proviso vs. Calhoun's resolutions; (5) the permanent establishment of the Independent Treasury system, and the beginning of the Woman's Rights movement; (6) the invention of the sewing-machine, and Morton's introduction of ether into surgery.

ZACHARY TAYLOR (WHIG), 1849-1853.

410. General Taylor's position; the question of slavery extension. — Before his election to the presidency (§ 408), General Taylor said: "I have no private purpose to accomplish, no party projects to build up, no enemies to punish, — nothing to serve but my country." [1013] Taylor did not seek the office to which the Whig Party had elected him. He took so little interest in politics that he had never in his life cast a vote.[1014] He was one of the largest slave-holders in the South, yet, like Henry Clay, he opposed the extension of slavery. He was by nature a soldier, a man of action, blunt and "downright"; he had served under the "stars and stripes" for more than forty years; he loved the flag, and he loved the Union which that flag represented.[1015]

Congress was called to decide the burning question whether slavery should be admitted into the new territory ceded by Mexico (§ 403). Lewis Cass contended that the people of the Territories should determine for themselves whether they would or would not have slavery. Calhoun ridiculed this doctrine as "Squatter Sovereignty"; later, in a different form, it was advocated by Stephen A. Douglas, under the name of "Popular Sovereignty." [1016] After a bitter contest Howell Cobb of Georgia, a strong advocate of slavery extension, was chosen

Speaker of the House. This seemed to presage a victory for the South.

411. **Debate on the admission of California as a free State.** — In anticipation of a Congressional battle over slavery extension, President Taylor had recommended the newly acquired Territories to form State constitutions.[1017] He hoped that he might thereby get the vexed question promptly settled; but he was disappointed. The action of the people of California in adopting a constitution (November 13, 1849) which prohibited slavery (§ 406) roused an angry debate, which continued for nearly a year. If California should be admitted as a free State there seemed little prospect that any of the remaining territory obtained from Mexico could be gained by the South. Webster, Clay, and Alexander H. Stephens declared that hitherto slavery had generally taken the lead in Congress and controlled the Executive. The growth of the Republic, by the continued admission of free States, threatened to destroy this preponderance of the slave-holding class, and, as Giddings later said, restore the political power to the people.[1018]

The Free Soilers rejoiced at the prospect of the nationalization of the principle of liberty; but the Whigs and Democrats feared that this triumph would result in the destruction of the American commonwealth. The extreme pro-slavery class at the South vehemently opposed the action of the people of California.

Toombs of Georgia said: "If by your legislation you seek to drive us from the Territories of California and New Mexico (§ 403), purchased by the common blood and treasure of the whole people, . . . I am for disunion."[1019] The Southern members greeted this declaration with loud applause. Alexander H. Stephens said: "Every word uttered by my colleague (Mr. Toombs) meets my hearty response."[1020] The next year (1850) Stephens wrote: "We have ultimately to submit or fight."[1021]

412. **Clay's Compromise Measures (1850).** — Clay, the "great peacemaker" now came forward with his famous Com-

promise Measures (January 29, 1850). His purpose was to conciliate both sections and all political parties in order to preserve the Union. He offered five propositions: (1) to admit California as a free State; (2) to apply Cass's principle of "Squatter Sovereignty" (§ 410) to New Mexico and Utah, but not until they should become States. By this provision, when they entered the Union they were to be received with or without slavery, as their inhabitants should demand;[1022] (3) to purchase the claim which Texas made to a part of New Mexico; (4) to abolish the slave-trade, but not slavery itself, in the District of Columbia; (5) to pass a new and more efficient fugitive-slave act (§ 380) for the protection of Southern planters.

413. Debate on Clay's Compromise Measures (1850).— Webster, Clay, and Stephen A. Douglas warmly defended the proposed measures, and Seward, Chase, and Hale denounced them. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis refused to accept them for the South, and Benton ridiculed them as a mere "compromise plaster."[1023] Davis demanded that the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′ (§ 324) should be extended to the Pacific, and that all of the new territory below that line should be open to slavery.[1024] Such an arrangement would have given the South a large part of California, nearly the whole of what now constitutes Arizona and New Mexico, together with a corner of Nevada.

Clay replied: "Coming from a slave State as I do, . . . no earthly power could induce me to vote for . . . the introduction of slavery where it had not before existed, either south or north of that line."[1025]

The hand of Death rested on Calhoun; he was too feeble to address the Senate, and a friend read his speech for him. It had the solemnity of a funeral oration. The great champion of slavery (§ 354) declared that, if the North desired to save the Republic, it must first "concede to the South an equal right in the acquired territory," and next faithfully enforce the fugitive-slave law of 1793.[1026]

The following day he said: "As things now stand, the Southern States cannot remain in the Union." [1027]

Calhoun saw signs of coming secession, not only in the political, but in the religious situation. The Southern Methodists and Baptists, provoked by action taken by Northern churches on the subject of slavery, had split off (1845) from the main body and formed independent organizations. This action seemed prophetic of the withdrawal of the slave-holding States from the Union.

Three days after Calhoun made his speech in the Senate, Webster followed with his celebrated speech of the 7th of March. Again and again the great New England statesman had declared his unalterable opposition to the extension of slavery; on this point his convictions had undergone no change whatever, but he now urged the necessity of conciliating the South, in order to preserve the Union. He declared that to apply the Wilmot Proviso (§ 404) to California and New Mexico would not only be an affront to the Southern people, but an act of folly. Nature, said he, has effectually shut out slavery from those regions, and Congress is not called upon to "reënact the will of God." He pleaded for the cultivation of "more fraternal sentiments" between the North and the South. "I hear," said he, "with distress and anguish the word 'secession.'" "There can be no such thing as peaceable secession." "Disruption must produce war, and such a war as I will not describe." [1028]

Seward, on the contrary, as the champion of freedom, denounced all attempts at compromise with slavery. He declared that the Constitution devoted the public domain "to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty." Then he startled his hearers by adding: "But there is a higher law than the Constitution," "which devotes it to the same noble purpose." [1029]

414. The "Omnibus Bill"; Taylor's death; Sumner; admission of California. — Early in May (1850) Clay's compromise measures (§ 412) were reported in the form of a bill, which carried so many provisions that it got the name of the

"Omnibus Bill."[1030] This measure was hotly debated for the rest of the session. All of its provisions, including the new Fugitive-Slave Act (§ 412), were passed, but in the form of separate bills, before the middle of September, 1850. This great compromise averted disunion for the time, and made it possible for the Republic to continue for another decade "half slave and half free." Both parties now exultantly declared that the terrible negro question was "finally settled."

Meanwhile President Taylor had suddenly died (July 9, 1850) and Vice-President Fillmore had taken the Executive helm. Fillmore made Webster Secretary of State, and Massachusetts chose Charles Sumner to succeed him in the Senate. Sumner, though an uncompromising champion of the anti-slavery cause, was not an extreme Abolitionist. Speaking of his office, he said to his constituents: "I accept it as the servant of the Union, bound to oppose all sectionalism, . . . whether in unconstitutional efforts by the North to carry . . . freedom into the slave States [or] in unconstitutional efforts by the South to carry . . . slavery into the free States."[1031]

In the autumn of 1850 California was admitted to the Union. This made the whole number of States thirty-one,— fifteen for slavery, sixteen for free soil. There could be little doubt that henceforth the free States would hold the political control.

415. Excitement at the North over the new Fugitive-Slave Act. — The excitement at the North over the passage of the new Fugitive-Slave Act (§ 414) was intense. From all parts of the free States memorials poured in upon Congress. They condemned the law as "revolting to the moral sense of the civilized world," and demanded its immediate repeal.[1032] Giddings of Ohio declared that the execution of such a law was worse "than ordinary murder," and that no slave-holder could compel the freemen of his State to turn out "to chase the panting fugitive."[1033] The Abolitionists denounced Webster for upholding the act, and declared him a traitor to New

England and to liberty. Whittier wrote his dirge-like lines of "Ichabod" to lament his fall:

> "From those great eyes
> The soul has fled;
> When faith is lost, when honor dies,
> The man is dead."

But eight hundred leading citizens of Boston and vicinity came to Webster's defence. They signed a paper thanking him for recalling them to their "duties under the Constitution."[1034] They accepted his declaration that if the North refused to return fugitive slaves, "the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact" of the Constitution; and that "a bargain" cannot be broken on one side and still bind the other."[1035] Ten years later, Abraham Lincoln, in his inaugural, acknowledged that the Constitution required him to enforce the Fugitive-Slave Law.[1036]

416. "Personal Liberty Laws"; enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Act. — Prior to 1850 several Northern States had passed "Personal Liberty Laws," forbidding State officers to aid in the enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Act of 1793 (§ 257). The new act (1850) (§ 414) roused still greater opposition. In the course of the next ten years (1850–1860) fourteen Northern States passed laws to protect negroes claimed as runaway slaves. These statutes generally secured to such negroes the right of having counsel to defend them, the right to testify in their own behalf, and the right of trial by jury; all of which privileges the Fugitive-Slave Act of 1850 denied.[1037]

The South complained that these laws "were intended to nullify an act of Congress, and that they violated the Constitution."

So far as the actual number of fugitives was concerned, the loss to the South was small. In 1850 only one-thirtieth of one per cent of the slave population escaped, and by 1860 it had fallen much lower.[1038] Southern estimates, however, represented

the total number of fugitives living in the North at 30,000, valued at $15,000,000.[1039]

Long before the passage of the new law, the Abolitionists had organized a regular system of escape for negroes who had succeeded in entering the free States. The "Underground Railroad" consisted of a chain of stations — private houses about a day's journey apart, — and the fugitives were hurried along from station to station until they reached Canada.[1040]

Under the Fugitive-Slave Act of 1850 more seizures were made than in all the previous sixty years. Thomas Sims (1851) and Anthony Burns (1854) were carried back from Boston. A desperate attempt was made to rescue Burns, and one man was killed. The files of armed soldiers who conveyed him to the wharf were greeted with mingled cheers, hisses, and groans, and they had to pass beneath a national flag suspended, union down, across the street, and draped in mourning. The determined resistance to the law made the cost of returning the fugitives enormously expensive. In several instances, notably that of "Shadrach," in Boston (1851), and "Jerry," in Syracuse, New York, the negroes were rescued; and at Christiana, Pennsylvania, a slave-holder and his son were killed in their attempt to seize an alleged fugitive. These cases showed that it would be practically impossible to enforce the obnoxious act on a broad scale.

417. "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; Helper's "Impending Crisis."— In the spring of 1852 two national political conventions, representing the two chief parties, met to take action. They solemnly pledged themselves to resist all attempts to renew the discussion of slavery "whenever, however, and wherever made."[1041]

Just at that time Mrs. Stowe published "Uncle Tom's Cabin." She was an earnest advocate of anti-slavery principles, but not a declared Abolitionist. She bore no hatred to the South. She wrote rather in sorrow than in anger, her only object being,

as she said, to make her countrymen "feel what an accursed thing slavery is." [1042]

Garrison declared that her book "would take the world by storm." He was right. In eight weeks 100,000 copies were sold in the United States, and that was only the beginning; within a year a million copies were sold in England, and the story was soon translated into every European language. Mrs. Stowe's work was the direct fruit of the Fugitive-Slave Act, and it struck slavery a blow from which it never recovered.[1043]

Five years later (1857) another remarkable book appeared on the same subject; this was Helper's "Impending Crisis." The author was a North Carolinian. He did not profess to be a friend to the negro, but attacked slavery mainly on economic grounds. He dedicated his work to the "non-slave-holding whites" of the South; his object was to show by solid facts and figures that the system did not pay, that it was a curse to the section where it existed,[1044] especially to the "poor whites."

Helper's book had a very large sale, and three years later (1860) the Republican Party circulated it by thousands as a campaign document.[1045]

418. National political conventions; the presidential election (1852). — The Democratic National Convention (1852) adopted a "strict-construction" (§ 256) platform.[1046] It upheld the Kentucky and Virginia (State Rights) resolutions of 1792 and 1798 (§ 273), and pledged the support of the party to the Compromise Measures of 1850 (§§ 412, 414), and to the enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Law. The Convention nominated Franklin Pierce for President, and William R. King for Vice-President.

The Whig National Convention met soon afterward; it adopted a carefully worded "broad-construction" (§ 256) platform, and accepted the Compromise Measures of 1850, with the Fugitive-Slave Law (§§ 412, 414). It nominated General Scott (§ 396) for the presidency.

The Free-Soil Democratic National Convention adopted a platform which repudiated the Compromise Measures of 1850,

including the Fugitive-Slave Law (§§ 412, 414). It proclaimed: "No more slave States; no more slave Territories; no nationalized slavery; and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." [1047] The Free Soilers nominated John P. Hale for the presidency.

Pierce was the successful candidate. He received 254 electoral votes to 42 cast for Scott; the popular vote stood 1,601,474 for Pierce, and 1,386,578 for Scott. Hale, the candidate of the Free-Soil Democrats, received a popular vote of 156,149.

Before the year (1852) closed, Calhoun, Webster, and Clay were in their graves. Sumner and Jefferson Davis were soon to stand, face to face, in the United States Senate as leading combatants in the "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom.

419. Rise of the "Know Nothing" Party; death of the Whig Party. — Between 1849 and 1852 immigration (§ 374) had increased enormously, the arrivals at our ports averaging nearly a thousand a day.[1048] Hostility to the political influence of this army of new settlers gave rise to a secret oath-bound fraternity, which took for its watchword the cry: "Americans must rule America." This organization developed into the political party (1852) of the "Order of United Americans." The members were popularly called "Know Nothings," because when questioned they invariably professed that they knew nothing of the party or its objects. The "Know Nothings" generally selected their candidates from rival political tickets; and for some years they met with great success in State elections. They required that those for whom they voted should be native-born citizens; that they should declare their entire devotion to the national and State Constitutions; and explicitly disclaim allegiance to any "foreign prince, potentate, or power." [1049]

They furthermore demanded "a continued residence of twenty-one years as an indispensable requisite for citizenship,"

and resolved that it was the duty of the national Government to prohibit the landing of foreign paupers and criminals on our shores. The chief power of the American Party was exerted between 1850 and 1856; it then gradually declined.[1060]

After the presidential election of 1852 the Whig Party (§§ 256, 341) went to pieces. Many Whigs joined the "Know Nothings," and after the organization of the Republican Party (1854–1856) great numbers were absorbed by it.[1061]

420. Summary. — The chief events of the Taylor and Fillmore administration were: (1) the discussion in Congress over the admission of California as a free State; (2) the adoption of Clay's Compromise Measures of 1850, including the application of the principle of "Squatter Sovereignty," and the passage of a new Fugitive-Slave Act; (3) the enactment by many Northern States of "Personal Liberty Laws," and the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and Helper's "Impending Crisis"; (4) the death of three great political leaders, — Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, followed by the decline and disappearance of the Whig Party, and by the rise of the short-lived American, or "Know Nothing," Party.

FRANKLIN PIERCE (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM, 1853–1857.

421. Pierce's inaugural; the first American "World's Fair." — In his inaugural address President Pierce (§ 418) spoke explicitly on the slavery question. He said: "I believe that involuntary servitude as it exists in different States of this Confederacy is recognized by the Constitution" (§ 415). "I hold that the laws of 1850, commonly called the 'Compromise Measures' (§§ 412, 414), are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect."[1062]

The slavery question, however, kept itself in the background for a brief period, while America took part in an international exhibition. In the summer of 1853 the President opened the first "World's Fair" held in the United States, in the "Crystal

Palace," in New York. The foreign department was noted for its large and valuable collection of works of art. The American department took the front rank in the variety of its wood-working machinery and agricultural implements.[1053] Nothing could equal the excellence of the work done by the improved planing-machines, the lathes for turning gun-stocks and similar irregular forms, and the machinery for manufacturing barrels, pails, and other hollow ware.

Our reapers and mowers (§ 366), horse-rakes, hay-tedders, and "cultivators" had revolutionized farming. With one of these machines and the aid of a pair of horses, a man could easily do the work of twenty-five hand laborers. Every summer these inventions saved enormous quantities of grass and grain which must otherwise have been lost for lack of men to harvest them. An acre of oats could be cut in less than half an hour, and an acre of hay spread in about the same time.

Secretary Seward said that these agricultural implements were pushing the line of civilization westward at the rate of thirty miles a year. In that way they had a powerful influence on the economic progress of the American Republic.

422. **The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.** — In the great debate on the Compromise Measures of 1850 (§ 412), Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, popularly known as the "little giant of the West," successfully advocated the application of "Squatter Sovereignty" (§§ 410, 412) to New Mexico and Utah, when they should be admitted as States. In January, 1854, Douglas, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, determined to make an effort to extend the principle of "Popular Sovereignty," as he called it, to the unorganized territory comprised in the Louisiana purchase of 1803 (§ 280). This region lay west of the States of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota Territory. It was called the Platte, or Nebraska country, and as it was north of the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′ (§ 324), slavery was "forever" excluded from it.

The bill, as Senator Douglas finally presented it (January 23, 1854), provided that the Platte country should be divided into two parts, the northern to be organized as the Territory of Nebraska, and the southern as the Territory of Kansas. The fourteenth section of the bill repealed the Missouri Compromise (§ 324), and declared it henceforth "inoperative and void."[1054] The avowed object of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was "not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."[1055]

A separate clause in the bill expressly provided that the Fugitive-Slave Act (§§ 412, 414) should be enforced in the two proposed Territories.[1056]

Senator Douglas declared that his sole object in advocating the measure was to take the discussion of the slavery question out of Congress, and hand it over to the people of the States and Territories for settlement. Such a policy, he believed, would preserve peace, and maintain the Union in its integrity.[1057]

423. Debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; Northern opposition. — The proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise (§ 324) and to apply the principle of "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422) to Kansas and Nebraska startled the whole country like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. No bill was ever introduced into Congress which gave rise to more excited debate. Sumner vehemently protested against the removal of the "landmarks of freedom."[1058] Wade raised his voice against giving slavery a chance to enter a Territory "as large as all the free States, pure as Nature, and beautiful as the Garden of God."[1059] Benton denounced Douglas's proposition as a "see-saw bill, . . . the up-and-down game of politicians."[1060] Seward declared that the fate of the Republic hung on this measure. "Its success or defeat," said he, "will decide whether slavery shall go on

increasing in influence over the central power here, or whether freedom shall gain the ascendency." [1061]

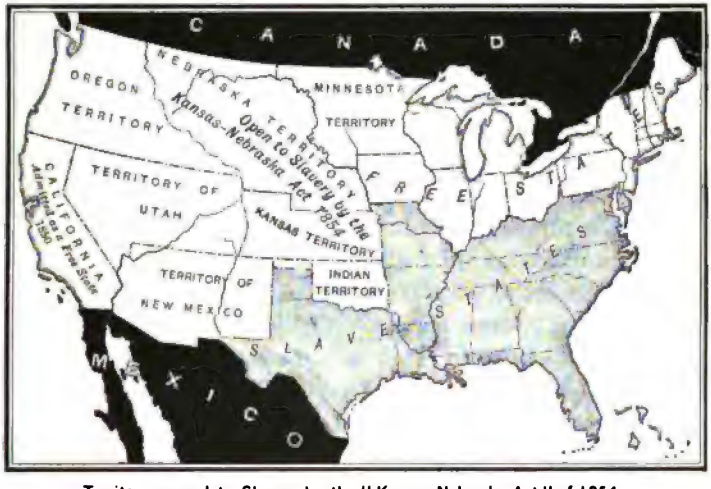
Edward Everett presented a protest against the bill, signed by more than three thousand New England clergymen.[1062] The "Independent Democrats" in Congress drew up an appeal denouncing the proposed law as "a gross violation of a sacred pledge," and as "part of an atrocious plot" to convert a vast unoccupied area "into a dreary region of despotism inhabited by masters and slaves." [1063] Chase, Sumner, Giddings, and Gerritt Smith joined in signing the paper.

424. Southern feeling about the bill. — The Southern members of Congress at first manifested little interest in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Bell of Tennessee said that every Southern Senator with whom he had spoken, excepting Toombs of Georgia, regretted this attempt to wipe out a line which had preserved the peace of the country for thirty years. He added, however, that since the North had introduced the bill, the South would not vote against it.[1064] Houston of Texas implored the Senate, for the sake of the Union, not to repeal the Missouri Compromise.[1065] Cullom of Tennessee declared that its repeal would repudiate "the faith and honor of the South, plighted by the act of 1820." [1066]

On the contrary Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, Toombs and the other extreme Southern men of the Calhoun school — popularly known as "fire-eaters" — considered the Missouri Compromise unsound in principle, and called loudly for its repeal. But they wanted the repeal to be made without having the proviso of "Popular Sovereignty" tacked to it. They insisted that the Constitution gave slave-holders (in common with all other owners of property) the right to take their negroes into the Territories when they pleased. They declared that they would never submit to the humiliation of asking leave of any one to exercise that right.[1067]

425. Seward's attitude; excitement at the North; passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854); results. — When

it became apparent that a majority of Southern members would vote for the bill, Seward exclaimed: "Come on then, gentlemen of the slave States, since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of the cause of freedom. We will engage in competition for the soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as in right." [1068] The debate on the bill raged for nearly five months. During that



Territory opened to Slavery by the "Kansas-Nebraska Act" of 1854.

The "Compromise Measures" of 1850 opened Utah and New Mexico to slavery when they should be admitted as States (see § 422). Oregon was free territory by Act of Congress of 1848 (see § 391).

time the North was seething with indignation, and mass-meeting after mass-meeting protested against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act (§ 324).

The opponents of Senator Douglas branded him as an enemy to the cause of freedom and of free soil. The demonstrations against him were so violent that he said: "I could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of my own burning effigies." [1069] The bill passed the Senate (March, 1854) by a vote of 37 to 14; in May (1854) it passed the House by a vote of 113 to

100. The Southern Democrats and Whigs voted for it; half of the Northern Democrats were for it and half against it; while the Northern Whigs and Free Soilers all opposed it.[1070] The President strongly favored the bill and promptly signed it (May 30, 1854).

The new Congress that met the next year (1855) held the stormiest session ever recorded. The struggle to elect a Speaker lasted nine weeks; members ate and slept at their desks. The election of Banks of Massachusetts was regarded as a victory of the free States over the consolidated power of the slave States. Blaine in his "Twenty Years of Congress" says: "It marked an epoch."

The Kansas-Nebraska Act had three momentous results: (1) by repealing the Missouri Compromise Act (§ 324) and establishing the principle of "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422) in the two Territories north of 36° 30′, it opened a new battle-ground between the forces of slavery and freedom; (2) it gave the finishing blow to the expiring Whig Party (§ 419), and it shaped the wedge which later (1860) split the Democratic Party into a Northern and Southern section; (3) it united all "anti-Nebraska" men at the North in a new political organization, which subsequently (1856) took the name of the Republican Party.[1071] The Republicans, unlike the Democrats or the Whigs, had no adherents at the South. They were sectional in the sense that freedom was sectional, and they pledged themselves to use all constitutional means to prevent the extension of slavery.[1072]

426. The struggle for Kansas (1854–1859); "Sons of the South" vs. "Free-State men."—No sooner was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill signed (§ 425) than companies of "Sons of the South" rushed in to seize the Territory and open it to slavery. The planters of Missouri engaged in this movement as an act of self-preservation. They held nearly 100,000 negroes, and they believed that if Kansas should enter the Union as a free State, their human property would speedily take to its legs and cross the border. Senator Atchison of Missouri said that a

horde of Western savages would be less formidable neighbors than a population of Abolitionists.[1073] The pro-slavery men who entered the Territory at once took possession of large tracts of land and planted the towns of Atchison, Leavenworth, and Lecompton. They warned intending emigrants from the free States not to endeavor to enter Kansas through Missouri.[1074]

The "Free-State men" acted with equal energy. In expectation of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Eli Thayer of Massachusetts organized the "New England Aid Society" to send out colonists to Kansas. This society received the hearty encouragement of Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, who helped to furnish it with the "sinews of war." The society despatched the first band of emigrants in the summer of 1854. The total number sent out by them in the course of the crusade was about 3000, — all men, and voters; before they reached Kansas this number was probably doubled. The pioneer colony from Boston planted the town of Lawrence; subsequently bands of "Free-State men" planted Topeka and Ossawatomie.[1075]

The settlers were strongly opposed to the spread of slavery, but they had no intention of attacking it in the States where it was already established. Garrison's "Liberator" (§ 353), speaking of the New England emigrants, said that "hardly a single Abolitionist could be found among all who went."[1076]

But among those who emigrated from New York and Ohio, there were at least six Abolitionists of the most radical stamp. One of them was destined to make his name and exploits known throughout the world. These six men were John Brown, a descendant of Pilgrim stock, and his five sons. They settled in or near Ossawatomie, and "Old John Brown," as he was familiarly called, soon became a power in that region. He went out, rifle in hand, determined, as he said, to "kill American slavery."[1077]

The "Sons of the South" denounced the "Free-State men" as "Black Republicans"; the "Free-State men" retorted by

calling their adversaries "Border Ruffians." The excited feeling naturally led to acts of violence which threatened to end in bloodshed.

427. The Kansas elections; the rival constitutions; congressional report. — At the first election of a delegate to Congress (1854) a large force of armed Missourians entered the Territory and elected a pro-slavery candidate.[1078] The next spring (1855) a second body of Missourians crossed the border into Kansas and elected a Territorial Legislature which not only adopted the entire slave code of Missouri, but strengthened it by the addition of numerous death penalties.[1079]

The Free-State settlers repudiated this "bogus legislation," and elected an anti-slavery delegate to Congress. In the autumn (1855) they held a convention at Topeka, framed a State constitution prohibiting slavery, set up a rival government, and applied for admission to the Union, but without success. Then the Pro-Slavery Party met at Pawnee and framed a State constitution to suit themselves; but the people of the Territory rejected it.[1080]

The next year (1856) Congress sent out a special committee of three (W. W. Howard of Michigan, John Sherman of Ohio, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri) to investigate the Kansas troubles. The first two members of the committee reported: (1) that the Territorial elections had been "carried by organized invasions from the State of Missouri"; (2) "that the alleged Territorial (Pro-Slavery) Legislature was an illegally constituted body"; (3) that no delegate to Congress had been elected "in pursuance of law"; (4) that in the present condition of the Territory a fair election could not be held unless "United States troops" should be present "at every place of election."[1081] The third member of the committee made a separate report dissenting from that of the majority.[1082]

428. Civil war in Kansas. — The national Government sent out troops to guard the polls, but civil war broke out. The greater part of the actual settlers desired peace, but bands

of marauders — Free-State "Jayhawkers" and Slave-State "Border Ruffians"—burned farmhouses, broke up settlements, pillaged towns, and committed numerous murders. One act of violence provoked another until the Territory became, in sober truth, "Bleeding Kansas."[1083] Lawrence was twice besieged and once burned; Ossawatomie, Pottawatomie, and Leavenworth were attacked and partially destroyed. Each side suffered; each made the other suffer. The motto was: "War to the knife and the knife to the hilt." "Old John Brown" shot or cut down a number of pro-slavery men in cold blood at Pottawatomie (1856), and made raids into Missouri for the purpose of liberating negroes. The other side retaliated with interest, and killed two to one in the massacre at Marais des Cygnes (1858).[1084] But this last outrage was an isolated act, and fortunately this frightful state of anarchy was practically over by 1857. The "Free-State men" had come to stay; and as they gradually increased in numbers, they obtained the political control and rejected the pro-slavery constitution framed by a convention at Lecompton (1858).

The next year a Free-State Convention met at Wyandotte (July 5, 1859) and adopted a new constitution which prohibited slavery. This was ratified by the people, and was later (1861) accepted by a Congress from which the Southern members had withdrawn to engage in that stupendous civil war destined to overthrow slavery forever. Out of her population of 100,000, Kansas contributed no less than 20,000 men to the ranks of the Union army.

429. Assault on Senator Sumner. — While the Western troubles were at their height, Senator Sumner delivered a powerful speech in Congress (May 19, 20, 1856) on the "Crime against Kansas." He denounced the "tyranny, imbecility, absurdity, and infamy" of those who were endeavoring to fasten negro bondage on the free soil of Western Territories. In the course of his speech he attacked Senator Butler of South Carolina, and held him up to ridicule as a

half-crazed old man completely infatuated with the charms of Slavery.[1085]

Two days later Preston S. Brooks, a nephew of Senator Butler and a Representative from South Carolina, made an assault on Sumner while he was sitting at his desk in the Senate chamber. Brooks struck him blow after blow over the head with a loaded cane until his victim fell senseless and bleeding to the floor. Senator Sumner's injuries were so serious that he had to withdraw from political life for several years. Massachusetts kept his seat for him in the Senate until he resumed it (1859), not long before the outbreak of the Civil War. Brooks resigned, but was presented with a new cane by his admiring constituents, and was triumphantly reëlected.[1086] Seward said: "The blows that fell on the head of the Senator from Massachusetts have done more for the cause of human freedom," than all its friends have ever accomplished in Congress.[1087]

430. Treaties with Japan and China; the Ostend Manifesto. — While the Kansas question was agitating the whole country, our foreign relations had an important bearing on the policy and welfare of the nation.

Under the previous administration Commodore Perry was sent out in command of a squadron to endeavor to negotiate a treaty with Japan. The ports of that "Land of Great Peace," once partially open to the Dutch, had been closed to the entire world for more than two centuries. Perry succeeded in reopening the barred doors, and by his tact, firmness, and diplomatic skill secured a favorable treaty (1854). It gave us opportunities for trade, and prepared the way for full international intercourse with the foremost people of the East. Japan owes her recent remarkable progress in western civilization, and her present position among Oriental nations, in great measure to Perry's success and to the introduction of American inventions and American educational influences.[1088] Fourteen years later Anson Burlingame negotiated (1868) an important

treaty with China, under which that nation for the first time officially accepted the principles of international law.

The failure of the South to secure fresh territory for slavery extension led to attempts to get possession of Cuba. Filibustering expeditions sailed from New Orleans (1850, 1851) for the purpose of exciting a revolution in that island; they accomplished nothing, however, but their own destruction.[1089] Fillmore, who was then President, issued a proclamation condemning these "wicked schemes" and warning citizens of the United States against taking part in them.[1090] Later, the Government endeavored to purchase the much-coveted island, but all offers were rejected. Meanwhile reports were circulated that the Cuban negroes were plotting to establish a free black Republic on the plan of San Domingo. This rumor made the South all the more anxious to get possession of a country that might otherwise become a menace to slave-holders in the cotton States.

James Buchanan, our Minister to England, met with our Ministers to France and Spain at Ostend (1854) to discuss the question of the acquisition of Cuba. They united in signing the Ostend Manifesto. They declared in that document that if Spain persisted in her refusal to sell Cuba, and if our peace should thereby be endangered, we should be justified by every law, human and divine, in seizing the island.[1091]

431. National presidential conventions; the election (1856). — The "Know Nothing" Party (§ 419) held their National Convention early in 1856. The delegates adopted a platform which declared that none but Americans should rule America, and demanded that foreigners should be refused naturalization until they had resided in the United States for twenty-one years. The only plank in the platform relating to slavery was one which condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise (§ 425).[1092] The Convention nominated Millard Fillmore for President.

The Democratic Convention met in June (1856). It adopted a "strict-construction" (§ 256) platform, denounced the prin-

ciples of the "Know Nothing" Party, and endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska Act (§ 425).[1093] The Convention nominated James Buchanan, our late Minister to England (§ 430), for the presidency.

The Republican Party (§ 425) held their Convention about midsummer (1856). The delegates adopted a "broad-construction" (§ 256) platform. They approved of the Government's encouraging "internal improvements" (§ 285), especially the building of a railroad to the Pacific. They denounced the Ostend Manifesto (§ 430) as "the highwayman's plea that 'might makes right'"; they strongly condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise (§ 425), and urged the prompt admission of Kansas (§ 428) as a free State.

They took decided ground with respect to the power of the national Government over the Territories, resolving that it was both "the right and the duty of Congress" to prohibit "those twin relics of barbarism, — polygamy and slavery."[1094] For President they nominated John C. Frémont (§ 400). His nomination was condemned by his opponents as a purely sectional act, — one in which the free States alone were interested. Rufus Choate denounced the Republicans as "the new geographical party," and added that their success would put "the Union in danger." Governor Wise and other leading men at the South openly declared that Frémont's election would cause "certain and immediate disunion."[1095]

The Democrats elected James Buchanan President, with J. C. Breckenridge Vice-President. The electoral vote stood 174 for Buchanan to 114 for Frémont, and 8 for Fillmore; the popular vote stood 1,838,169 for Buchanan to 1,341,264 for Frémont and 874,534 for Fillmore.

432. Summary. — The principal events of Pierce's administration were: (1) the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, repealing the Missouri Compromise and applying the principle of Popular Sovereignty to the settlement of the question of slavery extension in those Territories; (2) the struggle between

the North and the South for the possession of Kansas; (3) the opening of the first American World's Fair, the negotiation of a treaty with Japan, the attempts of the Government to purchase Cuba, and the Ostend Manifesto.

JAMES BUCHANAN (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM, 1857–1861.

433. The Dred Scott case. — Two days after Buchanan's (§ 431) inauguration, the Supreme Court of the United States delivered its decision (March 6, 1857) in the celebrated Dred Scott case.

Scott was a negro slave living in the slave State of Missouri. His master took him with him to Illinois (1834), and, after residing there for two years, removed with his property to the Territory then called Upper Louisiana — now Minnesota. Two years later (1838) Scott's owner took him back to Missouri and there sold him to John A. Sandford.

Scott denied Sandford's legal right to hold him in bondage, and brought suit for his liberty on the ground that his residence in the free State of Illinois, and in a Territory in which slavery was expressly prohibited by the Missouri Compromise Act (§ 324), had made him a free man.

The Court decided in Scott's favor; Sandford thereupon carried the case to a higher court. There the decision was reversed; Scott then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

434. Decision of the United States Supreme Court. — That tribunal undertook to pass judgment on two questions: (1) Is Dred Scott a citizen of the United States, and as such, entitled to bring suit in the United States courts? (2) Did Scott's residence for several years on free soil render him free?

In delivering the decision of the Court, Chief-Justice Taney took occasion to review the history of the negro race in America. He declared that when the Constitution of the United States was adopted, "negroes had no rights which the white

man was bound to respect." "It is absolutely certain," said he, "that the African race were not included under the name of citizens of a State by the framers of the Constitution." [1096]

Coming to the first of the questions under consideration, the Court decided that "Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and not entitled as such to sue in its courts." [1097] The delivery of this opinion really ended the case,[1098] but the Court now proceeded to consider the second question which had been raised. On this point it decided "that the Act of Congress [of 1820] which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning" slaves "in the territory of the United States north of the line [36° 30′] therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void." [1099]

The eight associate justices, with the exception of Judge Curtis of Massachusetts and Judge McLean of Pennsylvania, concurred in the opinion delivered by the Chief-Justice.[1100]

435. Effect of the Dred Scott decision. — This decision pronounced by the highest tribunal of the nation created consternation at the North. The most that the Kansas-Nebraska Act (§ 422) had done was to throw open a certain limited territory to slavery, provided a majority of the inhabitants desired it; but now the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly declared that every slave-holder at the South had the same constitutional right to take his negroes into any part of the public domain that he had to take his horses or his cattle there (§ 322). A great number of the people of the free States became convinced that "party spirit had taken possession of the Court in the interest of slavery." Seward boldly declared: "We shall reorganize the Court, and thus reform its political sentiments." [1101] Many persons expressed the fear that the supreme tribunal of the country was preparing to affirm that negro bondage was not local but national. This conviction added enormously to the strength of the newly organized Republican Party (§ 425), which pledged itself to resist all encroachments on free soil

AREA OF FREEDOM AND SLAVERY IN 1857.

(§§ 425, 431). On the other hand, the exultant South found in the hostile attitude of this army of Northern voters fresh justification for threats of disunion.

Later (1859), the Senate of the United States endorsed the Dred Scott decision by a vote of 35 to 21.[1102] This action encouraged those who advocated slavery extension, but it irritated and alarmed the friends of freedom, and so helped to widen the breach between North and South.

436. The financial panic of 1857. — To add to the excitement caused by political questions, a financial panic now swept over the country. In August (1857) the "Ohio Life and Trust Company" of Cincinnati failed for $7,000,000. An investigation showed that the managers had lost the entire capital in stock-gambling. The failure compelled many banks in New York to suddenly reduce their loans; this caused a general financial crash. Business was in great measure paralyzed, and with three exceptions, the banks throughout the country suspended specie payments.[1103] The great railway and manufacturing corporations found it impossible to meet their obligations; cotton dropped from sixteen cents a pound to nine, and the receipts of the national Government fell below its expenditures. The panic spread, and "a wave of bankruptcy swept round the civilized world." Well-qualified judges believed that it was caused by over-speculation resulting from the enormous production of gold by the mines of California and Australia.[1104] But if the crisis was sharp, it was short, and so far as the United States was concerned, it was only "a bad stumble in a career of great prosperity."[1105] The country generally was in a sound condition, and the crops were abundant. This favorable condition of things enabled the banks to resume specie payments before the end of the year, and business rapidly recovered.[1106]

437. Discovery of silver, petroleum, and natural gas. — While the country was recovering from the effects of the financial depression, a remarkable discovery was made (1859) on the eastern slope of the Sierras, in what is now the State of

Nevada. Some miners digging in that region came to a layer of strange-looking earth. A bystander, named Comstock, exclaimed when he saw it: "You have struck it, boys!" They had, in fact, struck what proved to be the great "Bonanza" silver mines. Comstock controlled the only spring of water which could be used for working the mines; for this reason he was admitted to share in the good luck.[1107]

Up to this time no silver worth mentioning had been found in the United States; but in the course of the next twenty years (1859–1879) ore to the amount of more than $300,000,000 was taken from the Comstock lode.[1108]

Nevada, however, was not to remain our only source of supply for silver. Rich deposits of that metal were discovered (1876) at Leadville, Colorado, and later in Utah and Arizona.[1109]

By 1873 the world's output of silver had doubled in quantity. Twenty years later, the total product had risen from an average of less than $38,000,000 in 1859 to more than $198,000,00 in 1892, — an increase of nearly four hundred per cent. In 1859 the United States contributed to this output only the comparatively insignificant sum of $100,000; in 1892 (the year of the largest yield from our mines) it contributed more than $82,000,000.[1110] In 1859 the average market-price of bar silver was nearly $1.25 per ounce; by 1892 it had fallen to less than 80 cents per ounce.[1111]

The same summer (1859) that the "Bonanza" mines were found, a remarkable discovery was made in western Pennsylvania. Professor Silliman of Yale University had suggested the practicability of using petroleum as an illuminator, and a company was formed to bore wells for it. "Colonel" E. L. Drake bored well after well with no better result than to sink the capital of the company that employed him and his own funds besides. His money and credit were both exhausted, and no one cared to trust this "petroleum crank," as he was called, for even a sack of flour.

On the morning of August 28, 1859, Drake went back to his work near Titusville hungry and penniless. That morning he "struck oil." Wild speculation followed his success; thousands of wells were bored in all parts of the "oil-creek" region, some of which yielded from 100 to 2000 barrels of petroleum a day.

Later, oil was found in Kentucky, West Virginia, Ohio, and on the Pacific coast.

In 1865 the "pipe line" system of conveying oil from the wells was begun in a small way. Since then 25,000 miles of pipe have been laid. Petroleum is now carried in this way as far east as New York and as far west as Chicago. These rivers of oil not only supply the enormous home demand, but furnish enough for exportation besides, the value of the quantity sent abroad during the last thirty years averaging nearly $45,000,000 annually, and the total export value from 1864–1895 exceeding $1,300,000,000.[1112]

About fifteen years after the discovery of petroleum, a well of "natural gas" was struck[1113] near Pittsburg. The escaping gas ran to waste for a number of years, before capitalists could be induced to invest in it. The gas has since been found in Indiana and some other parts of the West, and it is extensively used for fuel in houses and manufacturing establishments, and for lighting the streets in some cities.[1114]

438. The "Mormon rebellion"; the Mountain Meadows massacre; Kansas; Yancey's "Scarlet Letter." — Three years after the Mormons settled in Salt Lake Valley (§ 372) Congress organized the Territory of Utah (1850), and President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young, Governor. He declared in a public discourse (1853) that he would continue to hold the office — in spite of any orders to the contrary — until the Almighty should say, "Brigham, you need not be Governor any longer."[1115]

The federal judges in Utah accused the Mormon leaders of obstructing the administration of justice and of burning the Court records. The Mormons retorted that the judges

were men of corrupt character. President Buchanan appointed (1857) Alfred Cumming, a "Gentile," to supersede Young, and sent General Harney with 2500 troops to sustain the authority of the new Governor.

The Mormons attacked Harney's wagon trains, destroyed a large part of his supplies, and prevented the troops from entering the valley until the spring of 1858.[1116]

Meanwhile Bishop Lee and several other Mormons led a band of Indians against a party of emigrants who were crossing Utah on their way to California, and massacred them at Mountain Meadows (1857). Twenty years later Lee was arrested and convicted of having taken a prominent part in the massacre. He confessed his guilt, and was executed (1877) on the very spot where the crime was perpetrated.[1117]

When Harney's "Army of Utah" entered Salt Lake Valley (1858) they found the "city of the Saints" deserted. Had the troops attempted to occupy the Mormon "Zion," Brigham Young would have burned it, as the Russians did Moscow when Napoleon captured it. In this dilemma, President Buchanan decided to issue a proclamation of pardon to the Mormons on condition that they should obey the federal laws, and Governor Cumming persuaded the inhabitants of Salt Lake City to return; thus the threatened war was averted.[1118]

But though the outbreak in Utah was settled, the Kansas troubles, described earlier (§ 428), dragged on. Buchanan threw his influence on the side of making it a slave State. It was not until Minnesota (1858) and Oregon (1859) had entered the Union that Kansas was admitted (1861) as the thirty-fourth State, with a free State constitution.

Meanwhile the excitement over slavery did not abate. William L. Yancey, one of the leaders of the Alabama slave-holders, published (1858) his famous "Scarlet Letter," foreshadowing secession. He urged the organization of "committees of safety" to "fire the Southern heart," and at "the proper moment" to "precipitate the cotton States into a revolu-

tion." [1119] Later, Jefferson Davis told the people of his own State that if an "Abolitionist" should be chosen President in 1860, they ought to provide for their safety "outside the Union." [1120]

439. The Lincoln-Douglas campaign and joint debates. — In the summer of 1858 the Republicans of Illinois nominated Abraham Lincoln (§ 394) as their candidate for United States Senator. Lincoln's opponent was Stephen A. Douglas (§ 422), the great champion of Popular Sovereignty. Judge Douglas, whose term in the Senate was about to expire, had the enthusiastic support of the Democratic Party in his State. He had also gained many warm friends among the Republicans by the prominent stand he had taken in defeating the Lecompton, or pro-slavery, constitution (§ 428), which he accused the administration of attempting to force upon the people of Kansas.*

In such a political duel for office, the "little giant of the West" (§ 422) seemed to possess every advantage. More than this, Lincoln made an opening speech at Springfield (1858), which most of his warmest friends condemned as suicidal. He began by bringing the slavery question directly to the front. "'A house divided against itself,' said he, 'cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." [1121]

In his reply, Douglas said: "Lincoln goes for a war of sections until one or the other shall be subdued; I go for the great principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (§ 422), — the right of the people to decide for themselves." [1122]

* **The Covode investigation.** — At the next Congress (1859–1860) two Democratic members of the House accused the President of having corruptly attempted to secure their votes for the Lecompton Bill. A committee, with Covode of Pennsylvania as chairman, investigated the charge. The Republican majority on that committee found the President guilty; the Democratic minority found nothing against him. No action was taken on the report.

Later, Lincoln challenged Douglas to meet him in a series of seven joint debates. The people of Illinois turned out by tens of thousands to enjoy this gladiatorial contest. They greeted the combatants with bonfires, music, and the wildest demonstrations of delight.

Douglas repeated again and again that the people of the Territories, and they only, had the right to vote slavery up or down. Lincoln replied that the best men of the South had acknowledged that slavery was wrong; how then, he asked, can the people of the Territories have a constitutional right to "extend a wrong?"

Lincoln made a deep impression, — a mark that could not be rubbed out, — but Douglas secured the coveted office. Lincoln, however, had fallen uphill, not down, and when he rose he was on the path to the presidency.[1123]

440. The John Brown raid (1859). — The next year the whole country was startled by the report that John Brown, — "old John Brown of Ossawatomie" (§ 426), — with eighteen followers, had captured (November 16, 1859) the arsenal and engine-house at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. The next day the news came that Colonel Robert E. Lee (§ 397), with a company of marines, had taken Brown and several of his companions prisoners, but only after a hard fight, in which a number of persons had been killed.

The attack on Harper's Ferry was not a sudden impulse, but the result of a long-meditated plan. Brown had resolved to strike slavery a fatal blow, and he struck it in the State where American slavery originated. Gerritt Smith of New York and a few Massachusetts Abolitionists reluctantly furnished the funds and the arms for the rash expedition which they spoke of among themselves as "a little speculation in wool."[1124]

On his trial Brown was convicted of treason and murder. He declared that he had not intended to commit either crime, but only "to free slaves."[1125] "Stonewall" Jackson commanded a military company on guard at Brown's execution

Charlestown, Jefferson Co Va 2 9th Nov 1859.

Mrs George L Stearns

Boston Mass

My dear friend

No letter I have received since my imprisonment here, has given more satisfaction, or comfort than yours of the 8th inst. I am quite cheerful & was never more happy. Have only time write you a word. May God forever reward you & all yours. My love to All who love their neighbours. I have asked to be spared from hearing any mock, or hypocritical prayers made over me, when I am publicly murdered: & that my only religious attendants be poor little, dirty, ragged, bare headed, & barefooted, Slave Boys; & Girls led by some old grey headed, Slave Mother. Farewell, Farewell.

Your Friend

John Brown

Please

Mail this to her

From Frank B. Sanborn's "Life of John Brown," by permission of the Author.

(1859). "He behaved," said he, "with unflinching firmness." "I sent up the petition that he might be saved." [1126]

Six of Brown's followers were executed later. Emerson spoke of John Brown as "that new saint" who "will make the gallows glorious like the cross"; [1127] but Lincoln, and the Republican Party generally, strongly condemned the Harper's Ferry invasion. [1128]

The affair threw the South into an uproar. When Congress assembled, Ex-President Tyler said of Virginia: "But one sentiment pervades the country, — security in the Union, or separation." [1129]

A Senate Committee reported that the invasion "was simply the act of lawless ruffians under the sanction of no public or political authority"; [1130] but notwithstanding that assurance, the gulf between North and South appeared to have widened. Just before his execution, John Brown declared that the negro question could never be settled save by the "shedding of blood." He was right; in less than two years after his death at Charlestown, Virginia, a Massachusetts regiment, on its way to the defence of the Union, marched through that place (1862) singing:

> "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
> But his soul goes marching on." [1131]

441. The national political conventions of 1860. — The Democratic Convention met at Charleston and adopted a platform endorsing Popular Sovereignty (§ 422), thereby fully recognizing "the right of the people of all the Territories" "to form a constitution with or without domestic slavery." The Southern delegates were disappointed because the Convention refused to endorse the Dred Scott decision (§ 433), which declared the Territories open to slavery independent of the will of the people. They expressed their disappointment by seceding. Later, they organized a Convention of their own, affirmed the principles of the Dred Scott decision, and nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of

Oregon for the presidency and vice-presidency. Meanwhile the remaining delegates of the original Charleston Convention nominated Stephen A. Douglas (§ 422) for President, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia for Vice-President.[1133] Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia thought that this split in the Democratic Party was the forerunner of civil war. He said: "Men will be cutting one another's throats in a little while."[1133]

The "Constitutional Union Party," composed mainly of "Know Nothings" (§ 419) and "Old Whigs" (§ 419), adopted a platform which did not mention slavery, but simply pledged the party to maintain "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." They nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts. This gave them the popular name of the "Bell and Everett Party."[1134]

The Republican Convention met in Chicago. They adopted a platform which denounced "threats of disunion" as an "avowal of contemplated treason"; they branded the Dred Scott decision (§ 433) as "a dangerous political heresy"; they recognized "the right of each State" "to control its own domestic institutions," but rejected "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422) by denying "the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individual to give existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States."[1135]

Finally, amid the cheers and yells of ten thousand excited men, they nominated Abraham Lincoln (§ 439) and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for President and Vice-President.

Leading Southern men declared that Lincoln, like Frémont (§ 431), was a "sectional candidate," supported only by a "sectional party," and that they would never "submit to a 'Black Republican' President."[1136] The Republicans disclaimed all hostility to the South, but affirmed that it was slavery that was "sectional," and that the spirit of American institutions demanded freedom in the Territories for the best interests of all.

442. The election of Lincoln (1860). — From the outset it was evident that if zeal could elect the Republican candidate he was sure of success. "Wide-Awake Clubs," dressed in uniform and carrying flaring torches, marched nightly through every Northern city and town, making the streets ring with their campaign songs. These parades foreshadowed the marches to the battlefield in which men of all parties were soon to take part. The Governor of South Carolina, believing that Lincoln's election would give slavery "a fatal blow," sent a circular letter to the Governors of the other cotton States, declaring that his State stood ready to secede in case the Republicans won the day.[1137]

At the election (1860) Lincoln received 180 electoral votes (but not one in the slave States); Breckenridge 72, Bell 39, and Douglas 12. The popular vote stood 1,866,452 for Lincoln, 849,781 for Breckenridge, 588,879 for Bell, and 1,376,957 for Douglas.[1138]

443. Action of South Carolina; Buchanan's message; feeling at the North; Stephens's speech; the Crittenden Compromise. — The news of Lincoln's election (1860) was received in Charleston, South Carolina, "with long-continued cheering for a Southern Confederacy," and the Legislature summoned a Convention to decide the question of secession.[1139]

In his annual message (1860), President Buchanan declared: (1) that no State had the constitutional right to secede, and quoted General Jackson's words (§ 355) with approval; (2) that the federal Government would take measures to hold the forts and other property of the United States in South Carolina; (3) but that the Government had no constitutional power "to coerce a State."[1140]

The action of South Carolina was a surprise to the North. Many Northern men urged that immediate concessions should be made to prevent separation; others believed that separation was inevitable. Two leading New York papers, representing the two great political parties, declared that the South had the

same right to secede from the Union that the thirteen colonies had to secede from Great Britain.[1141] On the other hand, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, in a speech before the Georgia Legislature (November 14, 1860), protested against secession as a violation of the Constitution. He called on the South to accept Lincoln's election. Then he significantly added: "Some of our public men have failed in their aspirations"; "from that comes a great part of our troubles." This statement of Stephens's was greeted with prolonged applause.[1142] Pollard of Virginia later said that Southern ambition for office was a strong factor in secession.

Senator Crittenden of Kentucky led a compromise movement in Congress. He advocated an amendment to the Constitution which should accomplish two things: (1) extend the former Missouri Compromise parallel of 36° 30′ (§ 324) through to the Pacific, so as to permanently divide the Territories into free-state and slave-state sections; (2) he proposed an article which should strictly enforce the Fugitive-Slave Act (§ 412), or secure compensation for every slave rescued.[1143] Crittenden's well-meant attempt came to nothing.

444. Secession of South Carolina (1860); statement of reasons; six other States follow (1861). — The crisis was reached on December 20, 1860. On that eventful day the South Carolina Convention (§ 443), sitting in Charleston, unanimously passed an ordinance of secession. It declared that the union existing between South Carolina and the other States "is hereby dissolved."[1144]

The citizens of Charleston hailed the announcement with the wildest demonstrations of delight, and the daily papers of the city began forthwith to print all intelligence received from the North under the heading: *Foreign News.*

South Carolina, having declared herself independent, sent a commission to Washington to demand of the United States the prompt surrender of all forts, arsenals, and other property held by the federal Government within the seceded State. The

CHARLESTON

MERCURY

EXTRA:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December 20th, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE

To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE

UNION

IS

DISSOLVED!

President declined to receive them officially. South Carolina denied that her action in withdrawing from the Union was revolutionary or rebellious, but claimed that the right to secede was "an essential part of State sovereignty," and that it was in no sense a violation of the Constitution.[1145]

The Convention declared that South Carolina seceded for two reasons: first, because fourteen of the Northern States had "deliberately refused to fulfill their constitutional obligations" by enacting "Personal Liberty Laws" (§ 416), which nullified the Fugitive-Slave Act (§ 414) or rendered it useless to the South; secondly, because a geographical or sectional party had been formed at the North, which had elected a President "whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery," and who had publicly said (§ 439): the "national Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free." [1146]

The South Carolina secessionists proclaimed that their object was to establish "a great slave-holding Confederacy stretching its arms over a Territory larger than any power in Europe possesses." [1147]

By the first of February (1861) the six States of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had followed the example of South Carolina, and had declared themselves out of the Union. The Mississippi Convention frankly avowed that the object of secession was to save "slavery — the greatest material interest in the world." Georgia went reluctantly. Stephens said she was induced to go by the argument: "We can make better terms out of the Union than in it." [1148] The truth was that many of her citizens, and of the other cotton States, loved the old flag, and left it only because they were overcome by the secession movement and had no choice. These States seized the forts and other property of the United States within their limits so far as they could lay hands on them. In Texas, General Twiggs turned over about a million dollars' worth of national military stores to the secessionists.

Meanwhile President Buchanan had sent a merchant vessel, the "Star of the West," with reinforcements and supplies for Major Anderson, who held Fort Sumter for the Union. The people of Charleston fired on the vessel and compelled her to turn back. Wigfall of Texas, who still retained his seat in the United States Senate, jeered at the Government, saying: "Your flag has been insulted, redress it if you dare." [1149]

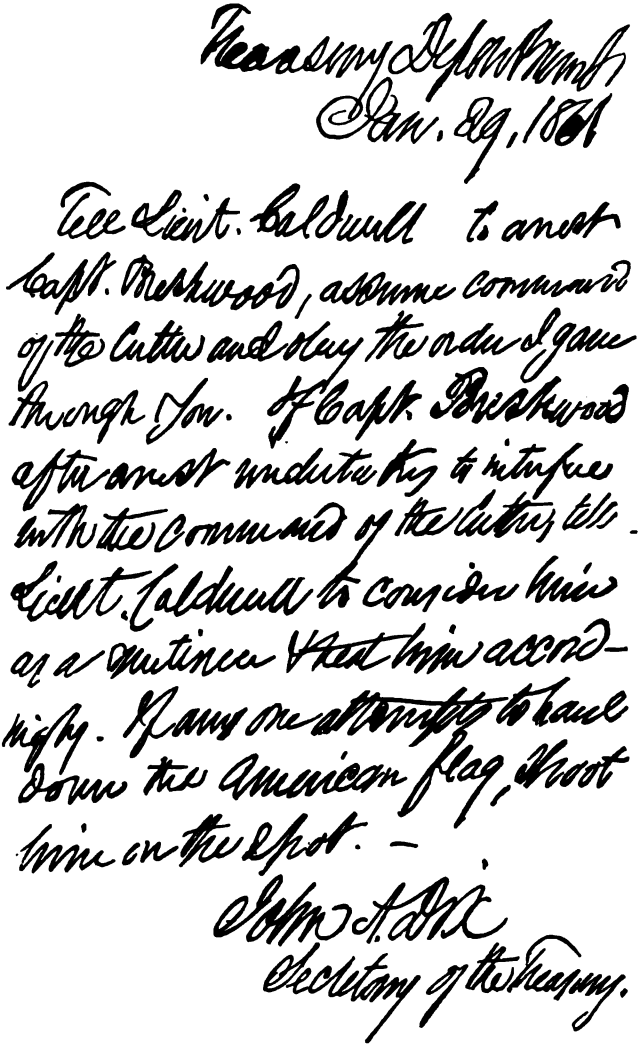
445. The "Confederate States of America"; their flag; their constitution; the Peace Convention. — In February (1861) delegates from all of the seceded States met at Montgomery, Alabama, and framed a provisional Government. They took the name of the "Confederate States of America," and made Montgomery the capital of the new slave-holding Republic. Pollard believes that they represented the "politicians," not the "people," of the South.[1150] Jefferson Davis (§ 413) of Mississippi was elected President for six years, with Alexander H. Stephens (§ 411) of Georgia for Vice-President.

In the Georgia State Convention, Stephens had declared that the South had always had "the control" of the general Government, and could show no cause for withdrawing from the Union (§ 443). He then denounced secession as "the height of madness, folly, and wickedness"; [1151] but, unlike Henry Clay at an earlier period, he declared that he would go with his State. He said that the "corner-stone" of the Confederacy rested on slavery as its foundation; and he boasted that the Confederacy, if true to itself, would become "the controlling power on this continent." [1152]

In March (1861) the Confederate States adopted the "stars and bars" as their national flag, and ratified a permanent constitution. It differed from that of the United States in two very important points: first, it expressly prohibited protective duties and bounties; secondly, it nationalized slavery, and provided not only for its perpetual maintenance, but for its extension to all Territory the new Government might acquire.[1153]

On the very day on which the secession delegates met at

From the Rev. Morgan Dix's "Memoirs of John A. Dix," by permission of the Author.



Treasury Department
Jan. 29, 1861

Tele Lieut. Caldwell to arrest
Capt. Breshwood, assume command
of the Cutter and obey the orders given
through Lieut. If Capt. Breshwood
after arrest undertake by intrigue
or otherwise to obtain command of the Cutter, tell
Lieut. Caldwell to consider him
as a Mutineer & treat him accord-
ingly. If any one attempts to haul
down the American flag, shoot
him on the spot. —

John A. Dix
Secretary of the Treasury.

NOTE.— Captain Breshwood of New Orleans refused to take any steps toward saving the revenue cutter *McClelland* from falling into the hands of the Secessionists, who were seizing such vessels for the use of the Southern States. The letter of Secretary Dix on this point explains itself.

Montgomery (February 4, 1861), a "Peace Convention" called at the request of Virginia, assembled at Washington. Twenty-one States were represented, but none of the seven seceded States sent delegates. The purpose of the Convention was to effect a compromise and "save the Union," but nothing came of the attempt. While the men of peace were in session, the people of Charleston were building batteries to bombard Sumter. They only waited for the order from Jefferson Davis to open fire and begin the civil war.

446. What made secession possible. — Slavery was the sole cause of secession. Madison, "the Father of the Constitution," was convinced that it threatened sooner or later to split the Republic. Jefferson held the same conviction.[1154] Directly or indirectly it had threatened to destroy the Union from the outset (§ 257); yet considered purely from an economic and industrial point of view, there was a period in our history when slavery was an apparent advantage. Its introduction into Virginia (§ 44) stimulated the settlement of that colony — the mother-colony of the American commonwealth — and established a lucrative commerce in tobacco.

Later (§ 259), the same system of labor made the raising of cotton enormously profitable, not only to the South, but to the whole country.

But these temporary material benefits were offset by the fact that slave labor was necessarily opposed to progress beyond a certain point. It was adapted to a simple uniform routine system of agriculture, and to nothing more. It exhausted the soil; it discouraged free labor; it shut the South against immigration; it refused to establish common schools.[1155] It concentrated the capital, the intelligence, the political power, and the social influence of the South in the hands of a small per cent of the population. It left the great mass of the people in poverty and ignorance, and without real legislative representation. It was the slave-holder, and, as a rule, the slave-holder only, who went to Congress, or was elected

to any State office.[1156] The men who did not possess slaves were branded as "poor white trash," and the very negroes looked down upon them in contempt. These Poor Whites were the victims of the slave system; as a recent Southern writer acknowledges, they withered under its overshadowing influence as shrubs wither beneath a wide-spreading oak.[1157]

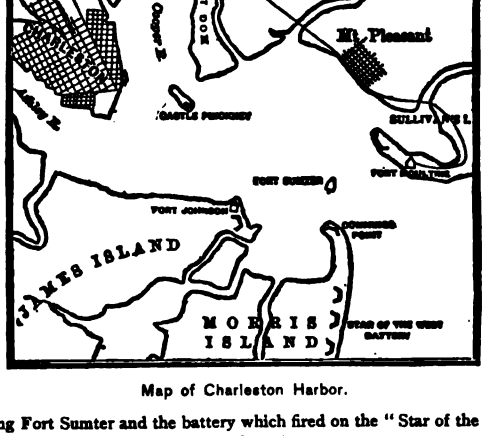
So far as progress was concerned in 1860, slavery was a spent force. It was a system of labor which the civilized world generally had outgrown and cast aside. More than that, it was a stumbling-block to the very people who cherished it, and who were ready to fight for it. It was the misfortune, not the crime of the Southern people (§ 352), that they could not see this then. They had been reared among slaves, and Calhoun had educated them to believe that African servitude was "a positive good" to both black and white (§ 354). Hence, as a representative of South Carolina has said, slavery kept the South stationary "in government, in society, in employments, in labor," so that it had not moved for half a century.[1158] It was a case of what physiologists call "arrested development," and the best powers of our Southern brothers lay concealed and dormant, waiting for the great day of emancipation and resurrection.

At the North everything had changed; slavery had disappeared, free labor prospered, education was open to all, millions of sturdy immigrants had settled in the West, and planted civilization in the wilderness. Patriotism — thanks, in no small measure, to Webster's efforts (§ 351) — had outgrown the narrow crippling theory of State-rights, and had broadened into a genuine devotion to the Union. For fifty years no man, or set of men, possessed of political influence had so much as hinted at the possibility of Northern secession (§ 310).

On the other hand, the Southern people, misled by slavery, had come to believe that their welfare depended on holding the negro in bondage. In order to thrive by the sweat of his unpaid toil, and perpetuate and extend the principle of property in man, they determined to destroy the Republic and to build

up a new commonwealth "separated," as an able Southern writer has said, "from the rest of the world in sympathy and feeling," opposed to progress, and with its face turned from the light and toward the past.[1159] Thus slavery bred secession, and secession bred civil war.

447. Summary.—The chief events of Buchanan's administration were: (1) the Dred Scott decision, opening the Territories to slavery; (2) the panic of 1857; (3) the discovery of the "Bonanza" silver mines, and the development of our petroleum deposits; (4) the Mormon rebellion; (5) the John Brown raid; (6) the secession of South Carolina, followed by six other States, and the formation of the Southern Confederacy.



Map of Charleston Harbor.

Showing Fort Sumter and the battery which fired on the "Star of the West."
(See § 444.)

VI.

THE WAR OF SECESSION.

(1861-1865.)

For Authorities for this Chapter, see Appendix, page xxiv. *The small figures in the text refer to Authorities cited on page* xxx *of the Appendix.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS, 1861-1869.

448. Lincoln's journey to Washington and inaugural address. — In his farewell speech at Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln said to his friends: "I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the great God, who assisted him, shall be with and aid me, I must fail." To avoid the danger of threatened assassination at Baltimore, the President-elect, acting on the advice of General Scott and Secretary Seward,* made the last part of his journey to Washington secretly, by night train.

In his inaugural address (§ 442), the President said: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no intention to do so." Passing

* **President Lincoln's Cabinet.** — Secretary of State, William H. Seward; Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase (succeeded July 5, 1864, by Wm. P. Fessenden); Secretary of War, Simon Cameron (succeeded Jan. 11, 1862, by Edwin M. Stanton); Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles; Secretary of the Interior, C. B. Smith (succeeded Jan. 8, 1863, by J. P. Usher); Attorney-General, Edmund Bates (succeeded Dec. 14, 1864, by James Speed); Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair (succeeded Oct. 1, 1864, by Wm. Dennison). *Second Term.* Cabinet changes: Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch; Secretary of the Interior, James Harlan.

to the question of secession, he said: "The Union of these States is perpetual." "No State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union." "I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States." "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government."

Then turning to those of his hearers who sympathized with secession, he said: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You can have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government; while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'" [1160]

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR, APRIL, 1861, TO APRIL, 1862.

449. Anderson's report; division in the Cabinet; capture of Fort Sumter. — The next day Major Anderson of Fort Sumter (§ 444) reported that he had but a month's provisions left, and that it would require 20,000 men to relieve and hold the fort.[1161] Anderson's entire force consisted of 128 men, half of whom were non-combatants.

President Lincoln was by nature a man of peace. His maxim was: "It is better to plough round the log than to try to plough through it"; but the question of relieving Anderson demanded immediate action, and such action seemed likely to precipitate civil war. The Cabinet was divided. Seward thought that the secession difficulty would be satisfactorily settled within "sixty days," and suggested that the best way to reunite the North and the South would be to declare a foreign war.[1162] Chase, on the other hand, thought that if we must choose between civil war and peaceful separation, we had better accept the latter.[1163] General Scott, as the President's chief

military adviser, believed that it would be best to compromise with the Southern States or else say: "Wayward sisters, depart in peace." [1164]

At a final consultation of the Cabinet, Chase and Blair voted to relieve Fort Sumter; the remaining five members voted against it as inexpedient.[1165] The President finally decided that he would take the responsibility on himself and "send bread to Anderson." This decision brought matters to a crisis. General Beauregard was in command of the secession forces in Charleston, and Jefferson Davis ordered him to demand the immediate surrender of Fort Sumter. Major Anderson declined to give up the fort.

At daybreak the next morning (April 12, 1861) Beauregard's batteries opened fire. Anderson's guns replied as best they could. The artillery duel continued thirty-four hours. The commander of Fort Sumter could hold out no longer. His handful of men were utterly exhausted, and his provisions and available ammunition were used up; he was forced to capitulate. No one had been killed on either side — it was the bloodless beginning of the bloodiest civil war known in modern history.

On Sunday morning (April 14, 1861) the brave defender of Sumter led his little garrison out of the fort. They departed with the honors of war, — colors flying and drums beating. Major Anderson took with him the shot-torn national flag which had floated above the fort; on that very day, four years later, it was triumphantly restored to its old place. He and his men then embarked for New York.

450. The President's call for troops; Davis retaliates; the blockade; the uprising of the North; the first bloodshed. — The next morning (April 15, 1861) the President issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 "three-months men" to uphold the national flag and defend the national honor. Davis retorted by calling for 32,000 men, and by inviting privateers to attack Northern merchant vessels. A few days

later (April 19, 1861), President Lincoln declared the ports of the Confederate States blockaded against foreign commerce.

The North responded to the President's call with an alacrity and enthusiasm which could not be mistaken. Over 90,000 men enlisted. The streets of the great cities blazed with patriotic colors, and resounded with martial music and with the tramp of armed men hurrying to the defence of the Government. Party lines were thrown down; everywhere the cry rose: "Crush the rebellion!" Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's old political antagonist, hastened to the President to take him by the hand and assure him of his support. He saw that the time for compromise had passed. "Now," said he, "every man must be for the United States or against it." He died soon after the great war began, but he used his voice and pen to the last, in behalf of the Union.[1166]

Pennsylvania was first in the field, but the Massachusetts Sixth was the first fully armed regiment which entered the national capital. On its way through Baltimore (April 19, 1861) the regiment was attacked by a mob of howling "roughs"; a number of the soldiers were wounded and two were killed. It was the anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord. On that day, sacred to the cause of American liberty, the first blood was shed for the preservation of the Union. The following day the garrison at Fort Monroe — the most important stronghold on the coast — was reinforced, and the next month General Butler took command there.

451. The uprising of the South; what North and South fought for; secession of four more States; the "border States." — The military activity of the South equalled that of the North; thousands of volunteers rushed to answer Davis's call. The politicians had started the secession movement (§ 443) purely in the interest of slavery and of their own selfish ambition. The first gun fired at Sumter roused the mass of the Southern people to wild excitement, and they were ready to move even faster than their leaders wished them to.[1167]

The Secession Congress at Montgomery declared that President Lincoln's call for troops was an attempt to "overawe, oppress, and finally subjugate the people of the Confederate States." The rank and file of the secession army doubtless believed this astonishing assertion. Most of them were men who recognized no authority higher than that of their own State. Misled by this idea, they believed that the North threatened to invade and destroy their homes.

Lincoln clearly stated the issue when he said later: "Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came." [1168]

The call of the national Government for troops compelled the remaining slave States to decide what course they would take. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee joined the Confederacy, making a total of eleven States. This gave the seceding section an area nearly equal to that of the entire United States at the close of the Revolution. In May (1861) the Confederate capital was removed to Richmond.

The western part of Virginia had but few slaves; it opposed secession, and later (1863) became a separate State under the name of West Virginia. The Governors of the four border slave States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri refused to answer the President's call for volunteers to defend the national flag; but later, all of these States contributed large numbers of men to the ranks of the Union army. So, too, did Eastern Tennessee, which was strongly loyal.

452. Mistakes of the secessionists; the situation; population of the North vs. the South. — The Southern politicians who incited secession made three serious mistakes in the outset: 1. They believed that all of the slave States would join them, and so form a "solid South." 2. The utterances of prominent men of the "Peace Party" at the North led the secessionists to think that the North would be in danger of civil war among its own people, and that the President would

be powerless to prevent the dismemberment of the Union.[1169] 3. Finally, the secessionists thought that if the North did take up arms to save the nation, England's need of cotton and Napoleon's desire to get possession of Mexico would induce those powers to interfere and recognize Southern independence. None of these things happened, and the States which seceded had to accept the situation as best they could.

The condition of affairs in the early summer of 1861 was as follows: Of the thirty-four States then constituting the Union eleven had seceded and four were divided in their allegiance. Nineteen States stood firmly by the old flag.

The census of 1860 reported the total population of the United States at nearly 31,500,000. Of this number the seceded States had somewhat over 9,000,000, including about 3,500,000 slaves who, though non-combatants, would by their labor keep many combatants in the field. The "border States" had a population of somewhat more than 3,000,000 and the free States about 19,000,000. The available military strength of the free States was probably three times greater than that of the South, and in the course of the war (1861–1865) it was increased by the enlistment of negroes and by the arrival of over 600,000 immigrants.[1170] Lincoln estimated the total force which the Union States could furnish in case of emergency at 4,000,000.

453. Material resources and military advantages of the two sections. — The wealth of the North was immensely greater than that of the South. The census of 1860 reported the assessed valuation of the North in round numbers at $7,750,000,000, and that of the South at $4,330,000,000. With few exceptions the North had the foundries, factories, workshops, and shipyards — in a word, the "machine-power" of the nation. The North, too, had the greater part of the railroads; and her ports remained open to the commerce of the globe.

The South, after her ports were once fairly blockaded, was cut off from getting supplies from abroad. It was difficult, if

not impossible, for her to repair a railroad that had once been destroyed in any large degree; and after reaching a certain point every man killed or crippled by the progress of the war created a vacancy that she could not fill.

But on the other hand, the Southern people were more accustomed to the use of fire-arms than those of the North. They had the immense advantage of fighting mainly on the defensive, on inside lines, and on territory where they — and they only — knew every foot of the ground.

The North was forced to employ colossal armies, for the Union troops were compelled not only to conquer, but to hold an ever-increasing area. In nearly every instance they had to carry their supplies with them over a constantly lengthening line which was often liable to be broken by a sudden attack in the rear. General Grant states that when he advanced into the "Wilderness" in his campaign against Richmond, his wagon-train extended between fifty and sixty miles in a straight line, and required 18,000 horses and mules to draw it.[1171]

All things considered, Grant thought that the two contending forces, in a military point of view, were practically about equal.[1172] In the course of the war the North called out a total force, reënlistments included, of nearly 3,000,000 men. All were volunteers, except a small number obtained by draft. After the first enlistments, liberal bounties were paid, averaging as high as $400 per head, and amounting in the aggregate to about $300,000,000, besides $100,000,000 devoted to helping soldiers' families.[1173] The greatest number of troops in the Union service at any one time was a little over 1,000,000; the greatest number in the Confederate service at any one time has been estimated at about 470,000.

No trustworthy statistics of Southern enlistments can be had; but it is known that a merciless system of conscription eventually forced their entire available fighting population — from boys to old men — to enter the Confederate ranks.

454. The Union navy; the Confederate cruisers and privateers. — Shortly before the war broke out the scanty navy of the United States was dispersed in foreign waters, and a congressional committee reported that only two armed vessels "were available for the defence" or blockade of the Southern Atlantic coast.[1174] The line of blockade extended for 3000 miles with but a single Union port of refuge. To hold this line, and to conduct naval operations along the coast and on the western rivers, at least six hundred vessels would be required. With a few exceptions all of these had to be built, bought, or hired by the Government.

The Confederate States had no navy, but they captured the hulks of a number of first-class vessels of war when (1861) they got possession of the Norfolk navy yard. They sent out a number of small armed cruisers; they built several formidable ironclads at home, and they built or fitted out the "Florida," the "Shenandoah," and the "Alabama" in England. These cruisers, armed with British guns and manned largely by British sailors, destroyed Union property worth many millions and drove merchant ships, flying the Union flag, from the ocean.

455. The financial side of the war. — The national Government entered upon the war with an empty Treasury, but loyal men came to the rescue and furnished money to meet the most pressing immediate calls. The gigantic contest cost the loyal States on an average about $2,000,000 a day. The funds to meet this enormous demand were obtained from four sources: (1) duties on imports under the war tariff; (2) internal revenue taxes; (3) the sale of interest-bearing bonds and interest-bearing Treasury notes; (4) the issue of over $430,000,000 Treasury notes in the form of the paper money popularly known as "greenbacks." The chief reliance of the Government was on the sale of bonds; these were freely taken by all classes of the people and were largely purchased abroad. To further stimulate their sale at home, Congress established (1863) a system of national banks which were required to buy and

hold Government bonds as security for the notes they put in circulation.

The enormous issues of paper money caused proportionate depreciation, and the demand for gold compelled all banks to suspend specie payment. At one time gold commanded a premium of nearly 300 per cent, and the purchasing power of the "greenback" dollar fell to less than thirty-five cents. Silver, like gold, disappeared from circulation, and to meet the demand for "change" the Government had to issue fractional paper currency in notes ranging in value from three to fifty cents.

The Confederate States likewise issued bonds and Treasury notes. At first they were able to sell these securities abroad, and to export considerable quantities of cotton in exchange for foreign arms and supplies. But the blockade gradually cut off all intercourse with Europe and the sale of Confederate bonds ceased. After the first year of the war the paper money of the South rapidly depreciated, and long before the close of the contest it had become practically worthless.[1175]

456. Extraordinary powers granted to the President. — In order to successfully prosecute the war for the preservation of the Union the President believed it necessary to do a number of things usually considered beyond the province of the Executive. In emergencies he took possession of railroad and telegraph lines; he arrested a great number of suspected persons, temporarily stopped the publication of several newspapers, and suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. Congress fully sustained him in the exercise of these powers, although the "Peace Party," and even many strong Union men, loudly protested. The extreme portion of that party — nicknamed "Copperheads" from a venomous snake which strikes without giving warning — did not hesitate to avow their sympathy with secession. They declared that the President deliberately violated the Constitution. The truth is that no written frame of government has ever been planned which could meet the terrible exigency

of a great civil war, and cases arose when the President felt that it was necessary to bend the Constitution in order to avoid breaking it. At the South, Jefferson Davis pursued a still more arbitrary course, and his administration seems to have become an absolute military despotism.[1176]

457. **Attitude of foreign powers.** — In the spring of 1861 Queen Victoria issued a proclamation of neutrality forbidding British subjects to give aid to the combatants of either side and recognizing the Confederate States as a belligerent power. This proclamation virtually acknowledged the right of the United States to blockade the Confederate ports and to cut off their supplies. On the other hand, it recognized the Confederate flag on the ocean, and so made the Confederate cruisers privateers instead of pirates. France and the other commercial powers of Europe followed the example of Great Britain. Later in the war Confederate commissioners attempted to obtain the recognition of Southern independence by the Pope, but the head of the Catholic Church simply expressed the wish to see the conflict ended and "peace restored." [1177]

The English press with few exceptions favored the cause of disunion. The London "Times" hastened to declare that "American institutions" had "collapsed." English "society" and the commercial classes generally shared this feeling. The former accused the North of "fighting for empire"; the latter saw that the success of the South promised to secure free trade for British goods in exchange for cotton. Notwithstanding the Queen's proclamation of neutrality, English capital furnished fleet steamers to run the blockade and to supply the Confederates with arms of the latest pattern. But the great mass of the English people never lost faith in the ultimate triumph of the North; no hardships or privations could induce the starving cotton-spinners of Lancashire to lift a finger in favor of opening the Confederate ports or of recognizing Confederate independence.[1178] This cordial feeling toward the Union has since gained ground among all classes; and the

relations now existing between the two great English-speaking nations of the globe are such as do honor to both.

458. The Sanitary and the Christian Commissions; the working army and the fighting army. — Soon after the war broke out the Sanitary and the Christian Commissions were organized to give aid and relief to sick and wounded Union soldiers, to furnish them books and newspapers, and to minister to their spiritual as well as their bodily needs. Both did a noble work in a noble way.

Throughout the war there were two armies engaged in battling for the Union. One fought in the field; the other worked at home to maintain, aid, and comfort those who fought in the field. In this home work women took a leading part. They did as much toward saving the nation as the men. They gave their labor, their zeal, their tears, their prayers — in a deep and true sense, they laid down their lives for the cause. They organized and carried on more than seven thousand local societies, all tributary to the Sanitary Commission, and they sent many millions of dollars' worth of articles to be distributed by that Commission. In every city and hamlet throughout the North they met from week to week to work for their husbands, sons, brothers, and friends who had gone to the front. They rolled bandages, scraped lint, prepared delicacies for the sick and wounded, and in many ways made the soldier realize that his welfare held the highest place in their hearts. Without the efforts of the grand army of fighters the Union could not have been saved; without the efforts of the grand army of workers those who fought could not have held out to final victory.

At the South the same intense devotion was shown, and the sacrifices which the people made in behalf of the Confederate forces were even greater, because their means were more limited. To-day the South is glad that it failed, for it sees that the success of the Union did not mean the triumph of one section over the other, but the reconstruction of the entire

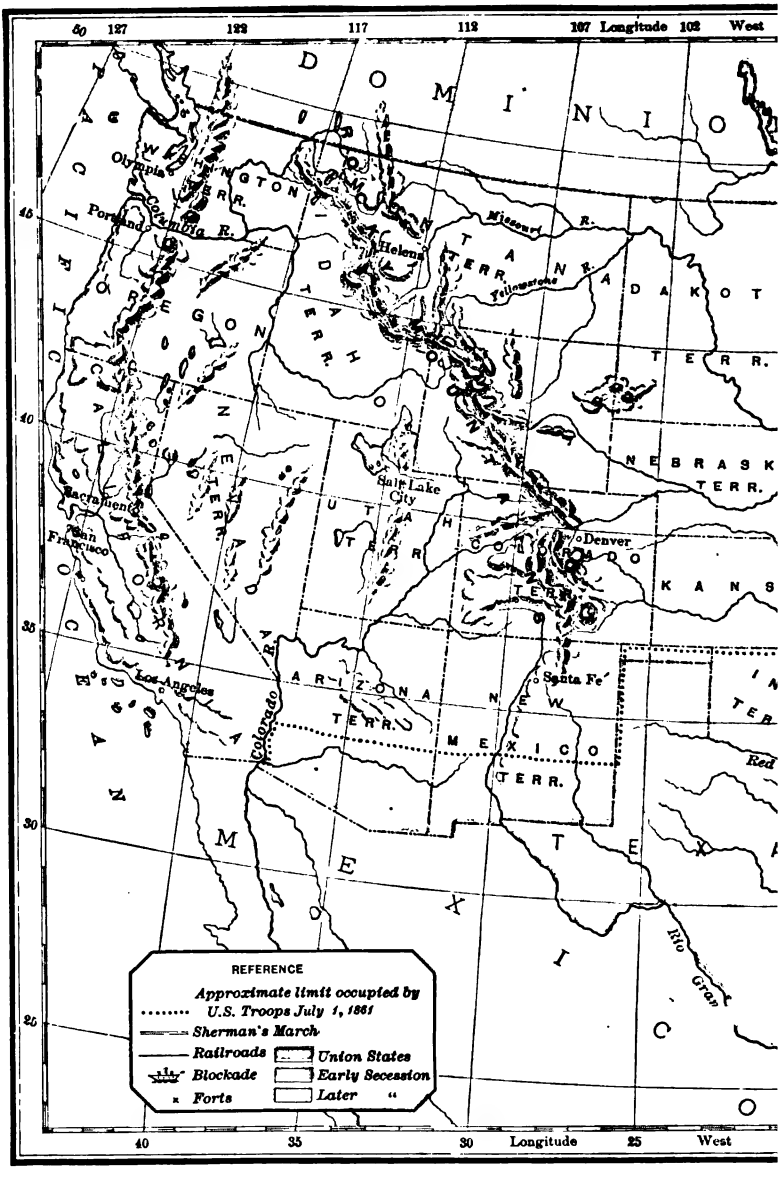
nation on broader and higher lines which secure the welfare of North and South alike.

459. Recapitulation of the object of the war; Union plan of campaign. — The South began the contest with the avowed object of breaking away from the Union and setting up an independent slave-holding Confederacy. The North reluctantly accepted the challenge hurled by the batteries which fired on Sumter. The object of the national Government was not to subjugate the South, not to liberate her slaves, but simply and solely "to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and preserve the Union." [1179] The issue was not sought by the North, but was forced upon it, because, as Lincoln said, secession meant "immediate dissolution or blood." [1180]

The President (May 3, 1861) called for 40,000 more volunteers and directed an increase of 20,000 in the regular army. General Scott had strengthened the garrison at Fort Monroe (§ 450) and was encircling Washington with earthworks. His plan was to surround the Confederate States and attack them simultaneously at every point by land and sea; this was what the newspapers called "Scott's anaconda."

Later, the plan adopted was: (1) to maintain a strict blockade along the Confederate coast and at the same time force open the Confederate ports; (2) to take the Confederate capital, and so destroy the political as well as the military power concentrated there; (3) to open the Mississippi and its southern tributaries which the South had seized and fortified; (4) to break through the Confederate line in the West, march an army to the Atlantic and thence northward.

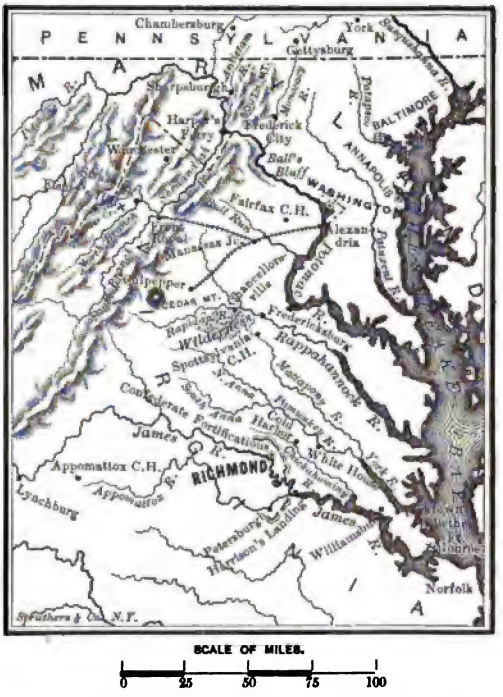
460. McClellan in West Virginia; Bull Run. — The contest opened in West Virginia. McClellan drove out the Confederates (May–June, 1861) and reported that he had killed secession in that region. The Union line (see map facing page 413) extended from Fort Monroe along the southern bank of the Potomac to Harper's Ferry, and thence southwesterly through Kentucky to the Mississippi just below Cairo, Illinois;



Longitude
West
DOMINIO
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICO
Olympia
Portland
Columbia R.
Helena
Missouri R.
Yellowstone R.
Salt Lake City
Sacramento
San Francisco
Los Angeles
Denver
Santa Fe
Colorado R.
Rio Gran
Red
REFERENCE
Approximate limit occupied by U.S. Troops July 1, 1861
Sherman's March
Railroads
Blockade
Forts
Union States
Early Secession
Later "

thence northwesterly through Missouri to Fort Leavenworth, and onward toward the Pacific. The total number of Union troops was about 180,000, confronted by a Confederate army of about 150,000.

As the summer wore on the newspapers became impatient. The Northern press cried: "On to Richmond"; the Southern, "On to Washington." Scott was too old and infirm to take the field, — he did not think the Union army ready to advance; but yielding to pressure, reluctantly ordered McDowell to move against Beauregard. The Union men went out as if on a holiday excursion, stopping to pick blackberries as they went along.



The first great battle of the war ensued (July 21, 1861) at Bull Run.* The forces engaged were of equal strength, but, as General Joseph E. Johnston admits, the Confederates had

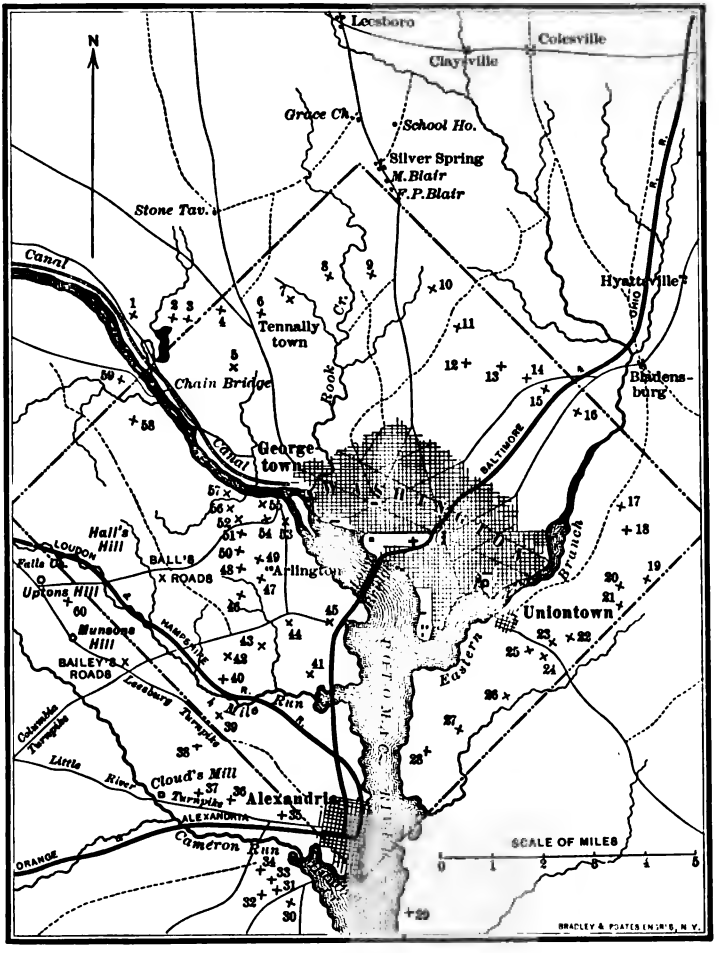
* Official estimates give the Union forces engaged at about 18,000; Confederate forces engaged at about 18,000; Union loss, 2896; Confederate loss, 1982. No absolutely accurate returns are obtainable. See the Century Company's "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," I. 194, 195. In all reports of battles General Grant's statement should be borne in

the great advantage of being strongly posted and of fighting on the defensive. The beginning of the battle promised the success of the Union troops; but Johnston brought up reinforcements, and at a critical moment General Jackson — whose stubborn steadfastness here gained him the name of "Stonewall" Jackson — checked the federal advance by a bayonet charge.[1181] Immediately afterward fresh Confederate reinforcements came up by rail from the Shenandoah Valley, struck the Union troops a sudden and terrible blow on the flank, and drove them from the field. Their broken ranks, drenched by pouring rain and disheartened by defeat, rushed into Washington; but the Confederates made no attempt to follow. In fact, many left the Southern army and went home, thinking that they had already conquered a peace. The National Government did not lose heart, but rose to meet the emergency. That very day (July 22, 1861) Congress voted to raise 500,000 three-year men to prosecute the war.

461. "Drill and organize!" McClellan; Missouri; the Atlantic coast. — Throughout the North the cry now went up: "Drill and organize!" and McClellan (§ 460) was put in command of the army of the Potomac. When Scott retired in November (1861) McClellan was made General-Commander of the land forces of the United States.*

mind. He says, in speaking of the strength of the Union armies in the field, all present were generally counted, while the Confederates counted none but the actual combatants — in other words, the *effective* strength — of their forces. See Grant's Memoirs, II. 290. So, too, the estimate of losses cannot be taken in any instance as entirely reliable. See Phisterer's "Statistical Record," in "Campaigns of the Civil War," p. 213.

* The armies of the United States were commanded by the President as Commander-in-Chief under the Constitution; and under him, as General-Commanders, by Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott until Nov. 6, 1861; followed by Major-General George B. McClellan until March 11, 1862; (from March 11 to July 12, 1862, there was no General-Commander); Major-General Henry W. Halleck from July 12, 1862, to March 12, 1864; Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant from March 12, 1864, to March 4, 1869. On the Confederate side, General Braxton Bragg held the office of military



DEFENCES OF WASHINGTON,

showing the girdle of sixty forts which protected it during the war.

McClellan spent the remainder of 1861 in converting an army of civilians — many of whom had never handled a gun in their lives — into an army of disciplined soldiers. In this respect he did a great work and prepared the way for Union success. General Meade, the victor at Gettysburg, said: "Had there been no McClellan there could have been no Grant." [1183]

Meanwhile Confederate forces from Arkansas and Texas had invaded Missouri and had made a desperate effort to carry the State over to secession. General Lyon, succeeded by Frémont and Halleck, gradually drove the invaders southward.* They were finally routed with great slaughter at Pea Ridge, Arkansas (March 7–8, 1862).

On the Atlantic coast, Union naval expeditions took the Confederate forts (1861) at Hatteras Inlet, Hilton Head, and Port Royal on the coast of the Carolinas; Roanoke Island, Newbern, and other points were captured later. These victories secured ports of refuge for the blockading squadron, and established important bases for military operations against the interior.

462. The "Trent" affair; seizure of Mason and Slidell.— In the autumn of 1861 Jefferson Davis sent Messrs. Mason and Slidell to England as Confederate commissioners to obtain aid for the Southern cause. They ran the blockade and embarked as "missionaries" at Havana, on the British mail steamer "Trent." Captain Wilkes, in command of the United States sloop-of-war "San Jacinto," lay in wait for the "Trent." When she hove in sight he forced her to stop (November 8, 1861), seized the Confederate commissioners, and carried them to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. The Secretary of the Navy

adviser to Jefferson Davis from February 24, 1864, to November of that year; but Robert E. Lee was the first General-in-Chief; he was appointed February 6, 1865.

* The chief fighting in Missouri was at Wilson's Creek, where the Union forces were overpowered by greatly superior numbers. The only fighting in Virginia during this time was at Ball's Bluff (October 22, 1861), where the national forces were defeated.

officially congratulated Captain Wilkes on his capture of "these public enemies," and the House of Representatives requested the President to present him with a gold medal.

The President, however, said he feared that we had simply caught a couple of "white elephants," and added: "We fought Great Britain (in 1812) for insisting . . . on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done." [1183]

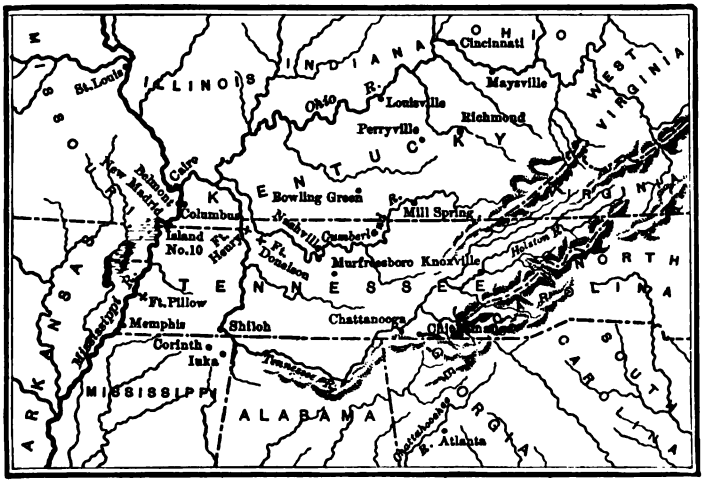
The Queen's proclamation of neutrality (§ 457) expressly forbade her subjects carrying "officers, soldiers," or "despatches" for either party in the Civil War; but the English Government denied that we were justified in seizing the Confederate commissioners. It demanded their prompt surrender and a proper apology for the affront to the British flag, and hurried off troops to Canada with regimental bands gaily playing "Dixie" as they sailed.[1184]

In the correspondence that ensued, Secretary Seward stated in the smoothest diplomatic language that he was happy to find that England now condemned the right of search, hitherto so stoutly maintained by her. He congratulated her on having at length become a convert to the American principle which had compelled us to protest against the exercise of such a pretended right. He closed by saying that, since the British nation now asked us to do to her just what we had always insisted all nations ought to do to us, we could not consistently refuse to give up Mason and Slidell.[1185] They soon sailed for England, but the London "Times" gave them anything but a complimentary welcome, saying: "We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes." [1186] The commissioners failed to obtain the official recognition of any European power, and accomplished nothing in behalf of secession.

463. Fighting at the West; Grant takes Fort Henry and Fort Donelson.— In the West, in the autumn of 1862, the Confederate general A. S. Johnston held an irregular line extending from the Cumberland Mountains through Mill Spring and Bowling Green, Kentucky, to the bluffs at Columbus on the

Mississippi. Aside from Columbus, the two points of supreme importance on this line were Fort Henry and Fort Donelson — about twelve miles apart — on the Tennessee and the Cumberland Rivers. Halleck, with his headquarters at St. Louis, was then in command of the department of the Missouri which embraced western Kentucky. Grant was stationed at Cairo, Illinois; and Buell, with Thomas, was in command of the Union forces directly opposing Johnston's line.

The campaign began in January, 1862, by a battle at Mill Spring, Kentucky, in which Thomas drove back the Confeder-



ates. General Grant, supported by Commodore Foote's gunboats, then moved against Fort Henry and took it (February 6, 1862). He next moved against Fort Donelson. On the third day of the battle (February 16, 1862) Buckner, the Confederate commander, asked what terms his assailant would concede in return for the capitulation of the fort. Grant at once replied: "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender." Buckner could not help himself, and promptly accepted Grant's ultimatum.

This victory was the most important which the national troops had thus far gained. It opened the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers for a long distance, and compelled the Confederates to abandon their stronghold at Columbus. This gave the Union army the control of the Mississippi as far south as Island Number Ten.

464. The battle of Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh; capture of Island Number Ten; Corinth. — Grant now moved up the Tennessee River for the purpose of capturing the great Confederate railway center at Corinth, Mississippi. He halted at Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, for Buell to come up from Nashville and join him. Before that general could arrive, A. S. Johnston, with superior numbers, suddenly attacked the Union forces (April 6, 1862). Johnston drove back Grant's army, but was killed in the thick of the fight, and Beauregard took command. By the next morning Buell's reinforcements came up. Grant now had the larger force. By nightfall (April 7, 1862) he had gained the day, and the Confederates were in full retreat. In his report, Grant said: "I am indebted to General Sherman for the success of that battle. It was," he said, "the severest engagement * fought at the West during the war." [1187] Grant was severely blamed for his management of the first day's battle, and the President was urged to remove him. He deliberated for a time, and then said: "I can't spare this man; he fights." [1188]

On the day following the victory at Pittsburg Landing the Confederates surrendered Island Number Ten to the federal forces commanded by Commodore Foote and General Pope. This opened the Mississippi down to Vicksburg. In May, Halleck moved on Corinth. Beauregard had not strength to hold it; he withdrew, and the Union army took possession of this important railway center.

* Grant says his effective force at Pittsburg Landing on April 6 was 33,000; Wallace and Buell brought him, after the first day's battle, 25,000 more. The Confederate force was about 40,000. Union loss, 13,047; Confederate loss, 10,669.

No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.

I am Sir, very respectfully
Your obt. Svt.
U. S. Grant
Brig. Gen

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT'S UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER LETTER.

465. Battle of the "Merrimac" and the "Monitor." — Shortly after Virginia seceded (§ 451) the federal officer in charge of the armory at Harper's Ferry destroyed and abandoned it. Following his example, the federal officer in command at the Norfolk navy-yard abandoned that important station with about 2000 cannon. He set fire to the government buildings and scuttled and sunk the national war-vessels. Among the ships thus sunk was the steam-frigate "Merrimac." The Confederates raised the hulk and converted it into a powerful ironclad ram, which they christened the "Virginia." Early in the spring (March 8, 1862) this formidable floating fort, under command of Captain Buchanan, sallied out and attacked the federal fleet of wooden war-ships lying in Hampton Roads. Making a dash at the "Cumberland," the "Virginia" cut that vessel nearly in two, and sent her to the bottom with a hundred sick and wounded men. The "Virginia" next captured the "Congress," set her on fire, and blew her up. The Confederate ironclad then retired to Norfolk, intending to complete her work of destruction the next day.

The news of this disaster created great alarm at Washington. The President hastily summoned a Cabinet council. Stanton, the Secretary of War, expressed the fear that the "rebel monster" might even then be on her way up the Potomac. "It is not unlikely," said he, "that we shall have a shell or a cannon ball from one of her guns in the White House before we leave this room." [1189]

That night, lighted by the flames of the burning "Congress," Ericsson's "Monitor," under the command of the gallant Lieutenant Worden, steamed into Hampton Roads. She was an iron vessel built on a new pattern, having a revolving turret set on a deck nearly level with the water. On Sunday morning (March 9, 1862) when the "Virginia" appeared she found the diminutive "Monitor" waiting for her. The Confederates laughed at this Yankee "cheese box on a raft"; but the "cheese box" fought so effectively that the "Virginia" finally

retired to Norfolk, leaving Ericsson's "little giant" practically master of the situation. When McClellan advanced up the peninsula in May (1862), the Confederates abandoned Norfolk and blew up their famous but discomfited ironclad.

The "Monitor" had not only saved the remaining vessels of the federal fleet, but probably saved Washington. Had the "Virginia" come off victor, she might have steamed up the Potomac and shelled the national capitol, besides doing incalculable damage in other directions.

This conflict between the two ironclads revolutionized naval warfare throughout the world. It sent wooden war-ships to the rear and brought iron vessels to the front.

466. Summary of the first year of the war (April, 1861–April, 1862). — The capture of Fort Sumter was immediately followed by the President's call for troops, the uprising of the North, and the organization of the Confederate force in the South. The Union defeat at Bull Run led to a call for 500,000 more federal soldiers.

In the West the Confederates were driven out of Missouri, and their line of defence was broken in Kentucky; Grant took Forts Henry and Donelson. This compelled the evacuation of Columbus on the Mississippi. Grant then defeated Johnston at the terrible battle of Pittsburg Landing, thus preparing the way for the capture of Corinth. Island Number Ten was next captured, and the Mississippi opened down to Vicksburg.

On the water, we have the seizure of Mason and Slidell, the capture of important Confederate ports on the Atlantic coast, and the great battle between the "Merrimac" and the "Monitor."

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR, APRIL, 1862, TO APRIL, 1863.

467. The capture of New Orleans, and its results. — President Lincoln declared that he considered the Mississippi "the backbone of the rebellion."[1190] In the spring of 1862

Captain Farragut, commanding the most powerful naval expedition that had ever sailed under the United States flag, started from Fort Monroe to capture New Orleans and fracture, if not break, the "backbone." The land forces of the expedition were under General Butler. The fleet numbered nearly fifty wooden vessels, carrying over two hundred guns, besides a fleet of mortar-boats under Commander Porter.

Farragut had no easy task before him. In order to reach New Orleans he must break through a line of hulks chained together across the Mississippi, just below the forts of St. Philip and Jackson; he must next run past the guns of those forts, steer clear of the fire-rafts sent to destroy his wooden vessels, and finally fight a fleet of gunboats, which included two ironclad rams constructed on the pattern of the "Virginia" (§ 465). Porter began to shell the forts on April 18 (1862), and just one week from that day Farragut's fleet, "silent, grim, terrible," anchored in front of the blazing levees of New Orleans. Four days later the city formally surrendered, the stars and stripes were hoisted above the custom-house, and the national forces triumphantly held the gateway of the river artery of the American continent. Mason and Slidell (§ 462) wrote from Europe that the fall of the chief port of the Confederate States had probably given the deathblow to European recognition of Southern independence.[1191]

Farragut, having accomplished his great work, moved up the Mississippi against the Confederate strongholds at Port Hudson and Vicksburg; but the situation of these fortifications on high bluffs made it impossible for him to attack them successfully without the coöperation of a powerful land force.

468. McClellan begins his Peninsular Campaign; "Stonewall" Jackson's raid. — Meanwhile McClellan began the second advance (§ 460) on Richmond. The Confederate capital was protected from a direct movement from the north by several rivers and many small streams, and by a dense tangled forest known as the "Wilderness." On the east the

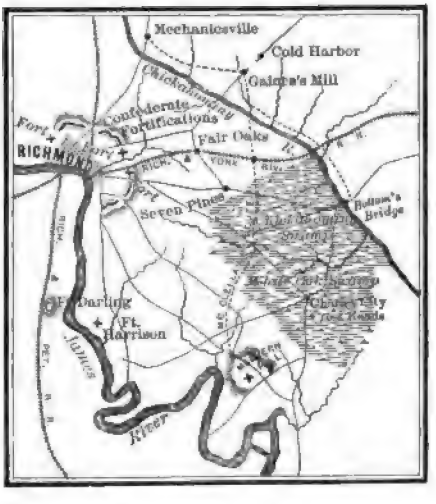
peninsula between the York and the James Rivers is low and swampy, and heavy rains make it almost impassable; but the distance from Fort Monroe on the peninsula to Richmond is but little more than half what it is by direct march from Washington. McClellan decided in favor of the short eastern route. Leaving about 36,000 troops to hold the Shenandoah Valley and northern Virginia, and McDowell at Fredericksburg with 40,000 troops to protect the national capital, he transported his superb army of 100,000 men to Fort Monroe. Early in April, 1862, he began to move up the peninsula. A part of Joseph E. Johnston's force barred the way at Yorktown. Here McClellan spent a month getting his siege guns in position. Just as he was ready to open fire the Confederates abandoned their works and fell back to Williamsburg, where an indecisive battle was fought (May 5, 1862).

McClellan then asked the War Department to send him every man that could be spared. The President promised to send him McDowell's army; but just then "Stonewall" Jackson (§ 460), with his famous "foot cavalry," dashed down the Shenandoah Valley, and "hustled" Banks out of it and across the Potomac.* Jackson's sudden movement created such consternation at Washington that McDowell's 40,000 men were withheld from McClellan to defend the national capital. Jackson then turned, and, keeping up a running fight, moved with such celerity that before McDowell could get a chance to strike him, he had joined the main body of the Confederate forces in the vicinity of Richmond. He arrived in season to coöperate with Lee in his attack on McClellan, whose army was straddling the Chickahominy River and floundering in the mud. If McClellan's success depended on his getting heavy reinforcements, then Jackson had completely upset his plans.

* Official estimate: The strength of Jackson's command is not stated, but Confederate authorities give him an effective force of from 16,000 to 17,000. The effective strength of Banks's command on April 30 (1861) was reported at 9178.

469. Fair Oaks; the Seven Days' battles. — There was sharp fighting (May 31–June 1, 1862) at Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines. In this action Joseph E. Johnston was severely wounded, and a few days later Robert E. Lee was put in command of the Confederate forces in Virginia.

McClellan now found himself cut off from his base of supplies on York River and was forced to set out for the James River to establish a new base. After seven days of terrible fighting, ending with the federal victory of Malvern Hill (July 1, 1862), the Union commander reached Harrison Landing on the James, where he could receive the support of the fleet of federal gunboats. Later, his forces were moved back to the vicinity of Washington.



McClellan attributed his failure to take Richmond to Secretary Stanton. He accused him of wilfully holding back reinforcements, and wrote to him: "You have done your best to sacrifice this army." [1198] Military writers give McClellan credit for one of the most "brilliant retreats" ever executed in the face of an enemy. Lincoln wrote to him: "All accounts say better fighting was never done." [1198] But the Union losses in the campaign had been very heavy;* and, though the Confederates had suffered greater losses, the North demanded that the next advance against Richmond should be led by a new commander.

* Official estimate: Effective Union force, 105,445; Confederate force, 80,000 to 90,000; Union loss, 15,849; Confederate loss, 20,135.

470. Pope takes the reins; the second battle of Bull Run. — Halleck (§ 463) was now (July 12, 1862) called from the West and made General-in-Chief of the Union forces. General Pope had done good service in the campaign against Island Number Ten (§ 464), and he was put in command of a newly organized force, — the "Army of Virginia,"— intended to operate against Richmond. It was understood that part of McClellan's army would be taken to reinforce Pope.

Pope proposed to move straight on the enemy, and declared that he should establish his headquarters "in the saddle." He issued orders to his army to subsist on the country through which they moved, to hold the people responsible for Union property destroyed by "rebel raids," and to send all secessionists out of the federal lines. Pope advanced to the Rappahannock, and there halted for reinforcements. "Stonewall" Jackson saw his opportunity; aided by Stuart's cavalry, he hurried down the Shenandoah Valley, passed through a gap in the mountains, got into the federal rear at Manassas, and captured or destroyed a large part of Pope's stores of ammunition and supplies.

A few days later the Union commander met Lee's army near the old battlefield of Bull Run, or Manassas (§ 460). Pope asked for reinforcements and additional supplies of ammunition, but McClellan could not or would not send them to his rival in arms.[1194] Notwithstanding this disadvantage, the Confederate General Longstreet admits that Pope "made a splendid fight" (August 29–September 1, 1862); but he was badly beaten.* He fell back to Washington and his army was united with the "Army of the Potomac," and McClellan received the command.

471. Lee enters Maryland; battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg. — Lee, at the head of 60,000 troops, flushed with

* Official estimate: Union army, not less than 64,000; Confederate army, about 54,000; Phisterer gives the Union loss (August 28–September 1) at 16,000, and the Confederate loss at 11,500.

victory, advanced northward. Now, while the "Copperheads" (§ 456) at the North were rampant over Pope's defeat, he was confident that he could speedily conquer a peace.[1196] His gaunt, barefooted men, "flaunting their rags in the sunshine,"[1196] crossed the Potomac above Washington and entered Frederick City, singing "Maryland, my Maryland"; but Maryland failed to respond. Lee issued a proclamation calling on the people to rise and throw off the "foreign yoke" of federal oppression; but not a man rose.

Less than ten days later, McClellan met Lee's army at Antietam, or Sharpsburg. There occurred (September 17, 1862) the "bloodiest single day of fighting of the war." Whole regiments of raw recruits went to their graves, and the cornfield where the chief part of the battle raged was covered with windrows of the slain. At the end of the terrible day, Lee retreated across the Potomac, leaving McClellan in possession of the field.* The President begged McClellan not to let Lee get off "without being hurt";[1197] but that general moved so slowly in pursuit that Lincoln finally lost all patience, and gave the command of the Union army (November 5, 1862) to Burnside, who reluctantly accepted the perilous honor thus thrust upon him.

When Burnside advanced against Richmond, he encountered Lee at Fredericksburg, strongly entrenched along the hills on the south bank of the Rappahannock. The Union army crossed the river and attacked him (December 13, 1862); but neither the "superb" Hancock nor "Fighting Joe Hooker" could carry the heights. Burnside lost heavily and was obliged to retreat.†

* Official estimate: McClellan reported the Union force at 87,164, but the brunt of the battle was borne by not above 60,000 of this number. Lee does not give the strength of his army, but says in his official report that less than 40,000 men on his side took part in the battle. Union loss, 12,410; Confederate loss, 11,172.

† Official estimate: Effective Union force, 113,000; effective Confederate force, about 60,000; Union loss, 12,653; Confederate loss, 5377.

The next month (January 25, 1863) Hooker was placed in command of the army of the Potomac, but he did not make any general movement against Lee until late in the spring.

472. Slavery and the war; Butler's "contrabands." — The winter of 1863 was one of the dark periods of the contest for the Union. The "Copperheads" (§ 456) were uttering gloomy predictions of impending disaster, and "Bull Run" Russell, the correspondent of the London "Times," was busily engaged in Lee's camp in gathering material for a history of the "Decline and Fall of the American Republic." At this period, on New Year's Day, 1863, the President issued his Proclamation of Emancipation.

Neither the President nor Congress had looked forward to this decisive action. Events had forced it. Lincoln, as we have seen (§ 448), entered office making the explicit declaration that he would not in any way interfere with slavery at the South. After the great contest in behalf of the nation's life actually began, Secretary Seward told our Minister at Paris that whatever might be the issue of the war, "the condition of slavery" would "remain just the same." [1198]

A few months later (July 24, 1861) Congress resolved, by a nearly unanimous vote, that whatever battles they might be called upon to fight, they would not touch slavery.[1199] This resolution met the entire approval, not only of the great body of conservative men at the North, but of military men as well. Neither McClellan nor any other of the prominent early leaders in the Union army had any intention of helping the negroes to acquire their freedom. Wendell Phillips said with truth that, while "the South fought to sustain slavery, the North fought not to have it hurt." [1200] The Northern people felt that the Constitution protected slavery, and they would not wilfully and openly violate the great charter of the Republic. Meanwhile they acknowledged the inconsistency of battling against secession, and yet letting the secessionists have the use of the negro to help the cause of disunion.

General Butler first saw how to cut the knot. Three fugitive slaves, the property of a Confederate officer, fled to him at Fort Monroe (May 23, 1861) and begged for protection. Butler knew that if he returned them to their master they would be sent South to build "rebel fortifications." The law (§ 414) required him to give them up; but he refused to surrender them. "These men," said he, "are contraband of war. I will hold them and use them in behalf of the Union." The word "contraband" struck the slave system a staggering blow. Butler soon had nearly a thousand "contrabands" at work on the national defences at Fort Monroe.[1201] His action was officially approved by the Secretary of War, and by a majority of those who were resolved to put down secession if it cost the North's "last man and last dollar."

In the course of the summer Congress passed (August 6, 1861) an act setting free all slaves used by the Confederates in military operations within the seceded States. This act, however, did not apply to the border slave States, or to the great mass of slaves in the Confederate States; and when General Frémont issued a proclamation of emancipation in Missouri (1861), and General Hunter did the same (1862) in South Carolina, the President declared both proclamations void.[1202]

473. **Lincoln's scheme of compensated emancipation; District of Columbia; the Territories.** — In his message to Congress in the spring of 1862, the President strongly recommended a scheme of compensated emancipation. He urged the nation to offer to "coöperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolition of slavery," and to give "to such State pecuniary aid." A resolution passed both Houses of Congress to that effect, but nothing came of it, for the South had no intention of giving up African servitude. A little later (April 16, 1862) Congress purchased, at an expense of nearly a million dollars, the slaves held in the District of Columbia — about 4000 in all — and gave them their liberty.

Congress next (June 19, 1862), applied the principle of the Wilmot Proviso (§ 404) to the Territories. This act set aside "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422) and the Dred Scott decision (§ 434) by prohibiting slavery forever within any part of the public domain.

474. Lincoln's reply to Greeley's letter on emancipation. — Thaddeus Stevens, one of the great Republican leaders in Congress, had urged the Government to begin the work of emancipation and had offered a bill to that effect. Late in the summer of 1862 Horace Greeley addressed an open letter to the President. He entitled it "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," and begged him to enforce the acts of Congress granting "freedom to the slaves of rebels coming within our lines."[1203]

No one detested negro bondage more than Lincoln did. "If slavery is not wrong," said he, "nothing is wrong."[1204] No one saw more clearly than he that the negro question was the taproot of the Civil War. "Without slavery," said he, "the rebellion could never have existed; without slavery it could not continue."[1205]

But the President was still uncertain whether it would be wise for him to take the course which Stevens and Greeley urged. In reply to the latter's letter, he wrote (August 22, 1862): "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that." He felt then that the times were critical, and that if he should issue a proclamation of emancipation, it might alienate the border States and, as he said, send "50,000 bayonets" from those States "over to the rebels."[1206]

475. Proclamation of warning. — When Lee first entered Maryland (§ 471) the President made a solemn vow that if the invader should be driven back he would send the proclamation after him. Lee was driven back (§ 471) and Lincoln issued

(September 22, 1862) a proclamation warning the seceded States that if they did not lay down their arms and return to their allegiance within one hundred days, — namely, on January 1, 1863, — he should declare all of their slaves "forever free."

The Governors of thirteen loyal States, at a meeting held at Altoona, Pennsylvania, hailed this action with "heartfelt gratitude." [1207] At midnight of the last day of the year (1862) thousands of negroes, both bond and free, prayed that God would take pity on them and would strengthen the hands of Abraham Lincoln to carry out his great purpose on the following day.[1208]

476. The Proclamation of Emancipation (1863). — Promptly on the first day of the New Year (1863), the President issued his final proclamation. It set free forever all slaves held in the sections then fighting against the Union. For the first time in the history of the war the Government had struck secession at its root, and had struck it a deathblow. The President declared that this "act of justice" was warranted "by the Constitution upon military necessity"; he invoked for it "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." [1209] Two years later (1865) the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution confirmed this act, and extended it to all slaves held in any part of the United States. (See Appendix, p. xvii.)

The system of African servitude which the Southern people had inherited from the colonial period victimized master and slave alike. Lincoln emancipated both. He completed the great work of the "Fathers of the Republic" by including the negro in that Declaration of Independence which affirms that all men are created with an equal right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

477. Economic, political, and military results of emancipation; prisoners of war. — From an economic point of view, the act wrought an industrial revolution. The South estimated that it had $2,000,000,000 invested in negroes; the proclama-

tion did not destroy this investment, but simply transferred it to a new owner, giving the slave possession of himself.

Politically speaking, the proclamation changed the whole character of the war. Hitherto, the North had been fighting to restore the Union as it stood before secession, — a "house divided against itself," half free and half slave. Henceforth, the national forces would fight to perfect the Union by making it wholly free. Abroad, the proclamation strengthened the cause of the Union, and practically destroyed the possibility of the foreign recognition of the Confederacy.

Furthermore, emancipation had an important military result. It cleared the way for the enlistment of the negro. Before 1863 came to a close, 50,000 "freedmen" had entered the army and navy of the United States; this number was eventually increased to about 180,000. Grant praised the gallant behavior of these new recruits. At Vicksburg, Mobile, Fort Wagner, Fort Pillow, and other points they mingled their blood with that of the white soldiers who gave their lives for the Republic.[1210]

The Confederate authorities refused (May 1, 1863) to exchange negro prisoners of war or their white officers captured in battle. As the United States felt obliged to protect all, whether black or white, who entered its service, the national Government refused to exchange at all until the South would recede from the stand it had taken. This deadlock led to the frightful overcrowding and terrible mortality at Andersonville and other Confederate prisons.* Later, the need of men forced

* There is no accurate report of the number of Union prisoners who died in Confederate prisons and prison-pens at the South; but it is estimated that out of about 188,000 federal soldiers captured by the Confederates, half were paroled, and that 36,000 of the remaining half died in captivity. The Union armies captured 476,000 Confederates; of these 227,000 were retained as prisoners; of these 30,000 died. The rate of mortality in the Northern prisons was 13 in 100; that in Southern prisons was 38 in 100, or nearly three times greater. See Nicolay and Hay's "Lincoln," VII. 444, and Congressional Report on "Treatment of Prisoners," No. 45, 40th Congress.

REDUCED COPY OF A PART OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
(Jan. 1, 1863).

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free;

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

L.S. In Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln

the secession authorities to offer to exchange black soldiers for white; but as the Union forces were then nearing the point of final victory, General Grant refused to consider the offer. He said that he "did not deem it advisable or just to the men who had to fight our battles to reinforce the enemy with thirty or forty thousand disciplined troops at that time."[1911] Like Washington in the Revolution, Grant took this stand respecting exchange in order not to prolong the contest. The sooner the war ended, the sooner all prisoners would be set at liberty.

478. Operations in the West; Bragg invades Kentucky; battle of Perryville. — Late in the summer of 1862 Bragg, the successor of Beauregard (§ 464) started from Chattanooga on an expedition northward. He invaded Kentucky, hoping to get supplies for his hungry men and to get possession of the State for the Confederates. Buell (§ 463) held Tennessee. Finding that Bragg was hurrying to get into Louisville, the capital of Kentucky, he set off with all speed for the same place. Buell won the race; he then turned on Bragg. The Confederate general retreated as far as Perryville. When Buell came up a sharp battle ensued (October 8, 1862), in which both sides lost heavily.* The next morning Bragg retreated

The deaths in the Southern prisons were caused in large degree by want of proper food, overcrowding, filth, and exposure to the weather. At Andersonville 35,000 prisoners were huddled together, without shelter, in a field of 27 acres, the center of which was a pestilential swamp. The Confederate inspector reported that the prison-pen was a "disgrace to civilization." At the end of the war Henry Wirz, the Swiss commandant at Andersonville, was convicted by court-martial of cruel treatment of Union prisoners, and was hanged Nov. 10, 1865. The greater part of the deaths in the Northern prisons appear to have been caused by the fact that the prisoners were often not in good physical condition when they entered them, and next because they were poorly clad and not able to bear the rigor of the Northern winter. All the reports agree that the Confederate prisoners were not overcrowded and that they had good and sufficient rations.

* Official estimate: Union force, 54,000, but perhaps not more than half of these actually took part in the battle. Bragg reports the Confederate force at only 15,000; but he appears to have had not less than 68,000 in the field. Union loss, 4211; Confederate loss, 3396.

through the Cumberland Gap on his way back toward Chattanooga. He succeeded in getting off with a long wagon-train of plunder. Buell was censured for letting Bragg escape him, and his command was turned over to General Rosecrans.

479. Battles of Iuka and Corinth; Grant's first attack on Vicksburg; battle of Murfreesboro'. — Meanwhile the Confederates made a desperate effort to drive the Union force out of Corinth (§ 464); but in the battles of Iuka (September 19, 1862) and Corinth (October 3, 4, 1862) they met with a severe repulse.

In November, Halleck (§ 463), who was now General-in-Chief, put General Grant in command of about 50,000 troops, and told him to fight the enemy where he pleased. Grant determined to move against Vicksburg, the most important stronghold held by the Confederates on the Mississippi. He ordered Sherman, then at Memphis, to move down the river, and with the help of Porter's gunboats, attack the city from the rear. Grant himself undertook to prevent Pemberton and his Confederate force in northern Mississippi from going to the aid of Vicksburg. Suddenly a troop of Confederate cavalry swooped down on Grant's base of supplies at Holly Springs, burned them (December 20, 1862), and so compelled the Union commander to fall back. Meanwhile Sherman, who knew nothing of Grant's misfortune, advanced (December 27, 1862), but encountered natural obstacles which prevented his accomplishing anything.

In the meantime Rosecrans (§ 478) was preparing to move from his headquarters at Nashville against Bragg (§ 478) at Chattanooga. Bragg came out to meet him. At Murfreesboro' on Stone's River, Tennessee, one of the most hotly contested battles of the war was fought (December 31, 1862–January 2, 1863). Sheridan and Thomas saved the day for the Union army, and the Confederate general retreated in the night to Tullahoma.* The battle of Murfreesboro' compelled the

* Official estimate: Effective Union force, 43,400; Confederate force, 37,712; Union loss (in the campaign), 13,249; Confederate loss, 10,266.

Confederate commander to give up his attempt to break through the Union line which defended the free States against invasion.

480. Summary of the Second Year of the War (April, 1862–April, 1863). — The second year of the war opened with Farragut's capture of New Orleans. This was the one great military success of the year. It was followed in the West by Bragg's raid into Kentucky, Grant's unsuccessful attack on Vicksburg, and Bragg's repulse at Murfreesboro'.

In the East, McClellan's indecisive Peninsular Campaign was followed by Pope's defeat at the second battle of Bull Run. Lee then advanced into Maryland, but was driven back at Antietam. Burnside attacked him at Fredericksburg and was forced to retreat. On New Year's Day, 1863, the President issued his Proclamation of Emancipation. This gave the war a new character — henceforth it was to be a contest not to restore the nation with slavery untouched, but to make it wholly *free*.

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR, APRIL, 1863, TO APRIL, 1864.

481. Battle of Chancellorsville. — In the spring of 1863, "Fighting Joe Hooker," Burnside's successor (§ 471), moved against Lee, who was entrenched at Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock. Hooker established his headquarters at the farm-house of Chancellorsville on the edge of the "Wilderness" (§ 468). There (May 2, 1863) the fighting began. Lee sent "Stonewall" Jackson round with a force 20,000 strong to fall on Hooker's rear. Jackson's attack was a complete surprise, and threw the federal army into confusion. The coming on of night saved it from defeat.[1212] After the battle Jackson, while reconnoitering, was fired upon, and fell mortally wounded. In losing him Lee had lost his "right arm."

The battle was resumed the next day. At a critical moment, a cannon-ball struck a pillar of the farm-house against which Hooker was leaning, and the concussion knocked him senseless to the ground. When he fully recovered, the day was lost,

and that night the national forces retreated across the Rappahannock.*

482. Lee's advance into Pennsylvania; discontent at the North; first day's battle at Gettysburg. — The President wrote to Hooker (June 10, 1863): "If he (Lee) stays where he is, fret him and fret him." [1213] But Lee had already determined to make a second invasion of the North (§ 471). He is reported to have said, that he believed he "would swap queens," [1214] — in other words, let Hooker take the Confederate capital, if he could, while he moved on the checker-board of war against Washington.

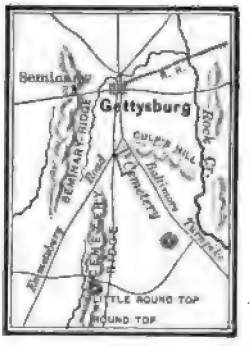
Many events seemed to unite in encouraging Lee to take this step. Burnside and Hooker had been defeated in the East (§§ 471, 481); Grant had failed in his attempt to take Vicksburg (§ 479); the desertions from the Union army averaged, at one time, two hundred a day; one prominent Northern man had been arrested for treasonable utterances against the Government and sent into the Confederacy, and several other well-known men were denouncing the President as a "tyrant" and the war as "wicked slaughter." In order to fill the ranks the Government had been compelled to order a draft. Resistance to this measure was openly threatened. When, a little later (July 13–16), an attempt was made in New York to enforce the draft, a mob set fire to buildings, attacked newspaper offices, hanged negroes, and for four days held the city at their mercy. The police were powerless to check the rioters; but a body of regular troops speedily dispersed them, though not until about a thousand were killed.

The knowledge of this element of discontent and turbulence at the North greatly encouraged Lee in his invasion; but he made the mistake of supposing that it represented the attitude of the majority of the people.

* Official estimate: Effective Union force, 130,000; effective Confederate force, not less than 60,000; Union loss, 12,145; Confederate loss, 12,463.

Concealed by the mountain wall of the Shenandoah Valley, he advanced, crossed the Potomac, and entered Pennsylvania. Hooker followed, but at this juncture he was relieved of his command (June 28, 1863) and General Meade was placed at the head of the army of the Potomac. On the same day, Lee began his advance upon Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania; but hearing that the Union army was in his rear, and fearing that his communication with Richmond might be cut, he ordered his entire army to move on Gettysburg, where he could threaten either Harrisburg or Baltimore.[1215]

Gettysburg lies on a slope at the foot of two ridges. The nearer one, shaped like a fish-hook, is known as Cemetery Ridge. It is about five miles in length, and is marked by three elevations: Culp's Hill, at the barb of the hook, and Little Round Top, followed by Round Top at the extremity of the shank. Opposite, a little more than a mile away, rises Seminary Ridge. Neither army originally thought of fighting here, but at this point the first and last great battle on free soil was to be fought.



On the morning of July 1 (1863) the Confederate force struck the Union advance at Gettysburg. The brave Reynolds was killed while forming the Union line of battle, and his men were driven back through the town to Cemetery Ridge. There they took up a very strong position where the crest of the ridge would hide their movements from the observation of the enemy. Lee's whole army as it arrived took possession of the opposite height of Seminary Ridge.

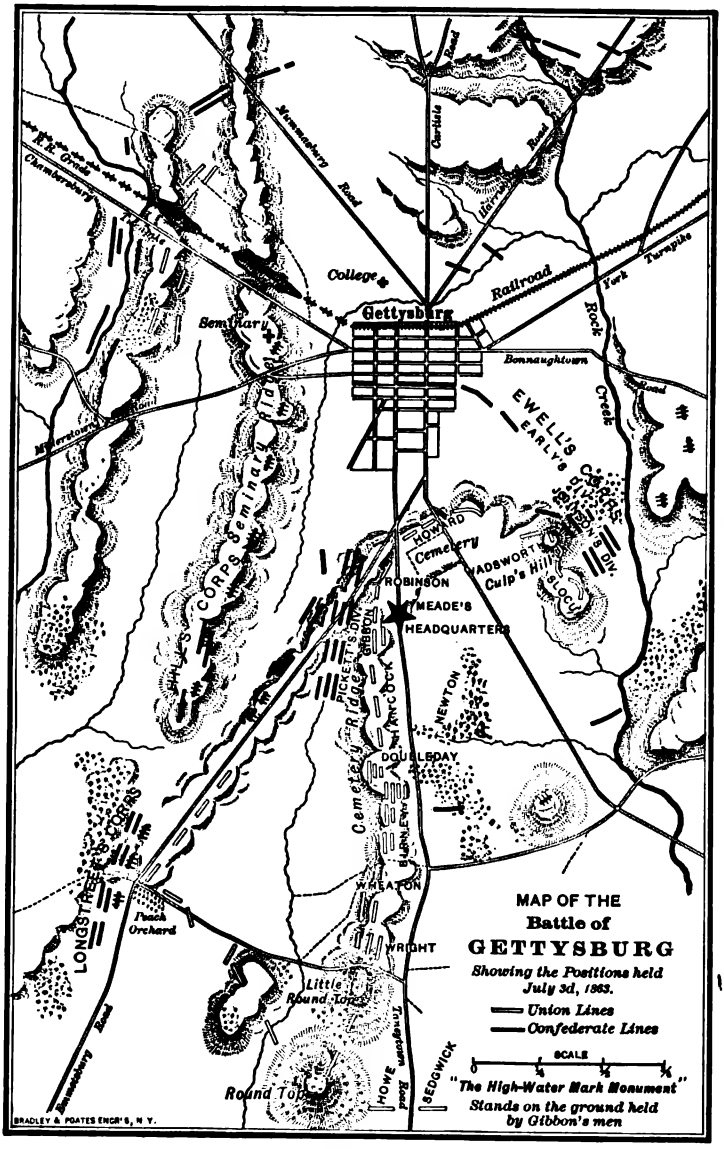
483. The second day's battle at Gettysburg. — Hancock reached the field that evening, and on hearing his report, Meade ordered the entire Union force to advance to Gettysburg. The Union commander resolved to hold Cemetery

Ridge and fight a defensive battle. This gave him a decided advantage, since he not only had the greater force, but Lee's men in order to attack him must move across the broad, open valley, where they would be the target of the Union fire. On the other hand, the Confederates held ground which enabled them to employ their batteries with much greater effect than the Union men could use theirs.[1816]

On the second day of the battle the Confederates drove back General Sickles from a position he had taken just in front of Cemetery Ridge. They then made a determined movement to get possession of Little Round Top, which the Union forces had neglected to occupy. By desperate fighting Meade's men secured and held the coveted height — the true key of the battlefield. On the other hand, the Confederates pierced Meade's center, and a detachment got a foothold on a part of Culp's Hill; but they were driven out early the next morning.

484. The final battle at Gettysburg; Pickett's charge (July 3, 1863). — On the third and last day (July 3, 1863) Lee, against Longstreet's advice, decided to make a grand assault on the Union center — held by Hancock. At one o'clock the Confederate batteries opened a terrific artillery fire, which was kept up for nearly two hours. The guns of the national forces hurled back defiance, and the whole valley between the two ridges was alive with shot and shell. While this furious cannonade was going on, Lee sent Stuart's cavalry round to attack the Union rear; but Meade's cavalry met them in a "sabre fight" and defeated them.

After a time the Union commander ordered the artillery to cease firing, in order that their guns might cool. Lee believed he had silenced the national batteries, and at three o'clock gave the order for General Pickett to charge. Pickett started at the head of a magnificent triple line of troops, a mile long, numbering 15,000. Hancock's men, intrenched behind a stone wall, awaited the attack. Both sides realized that this was to


MAP OF THE
Battle of
GETTYSBURG
Showing the Positions held
July 3d, 1863.
Union Lines
Confederate Lines
SCALE
0
¼
½
¾
"The High-Water Mark Monument"
Stands on the ground held
by Gibbon's men
Gettysburg
College
Seminary
Railroad
Bonnaughtown
Rock Creek
York Turnpike
Carlisle Road
Harrisburg Road
Mummasburg Road
R.R. Grade
Chambersburg Turnpike
Millerstown Road
Seminary Ridge
HILL'S CORPS
EWELL'S CORPS
EARLY'S DIV.
JOHNSON'S DIV.
HOWARD
Cemetery
WADSWORTH
Culp's Hill
SLOCUM
ROBINSON
MEADE'S
HEADQUARTERS
PICKETT'S DIV.
GIBBON
HANCOCK
NEWTON
DOUBLEDAY
Cemetery Ridge
BARNLEY
WHEATON
WRIGHT
LONGSTREET'S CORPS
Peach Orchard
Little Round Top
Round Top
Tanneytown Road
HOWE
SEDGWICK
Emmitsburg Road
BRADLEY & POATES ENGR'S, N.Y.

be the death-grapple. The Confederate force — the flower of Virginia — had to cross a level space over a mile in width. As they advanced, the Union batteries opened upon them, and tore great gaps in their ranks. But the main body of the assailing column pressed steadily forward, without themselves firing a shot or uttering a sound. As they dashed up the height, a terrific front and flank fire swept great numbers of the "men in grey" out of existence, and drove others to turn and fly or throw down their arms.

General Armistead led the remnant of Pickett's column. Holding up his cap on the point of his sword, as a guide to his men, he leaped over the stone wall, crying: "Boys, give them the cold steel!" The next instant he fell riddled with bullets. A brief hand-to-hand fight ensued, then all was over. Here — at a point since marked by an appropriate monument — the great wave of attack reached its high-water mark; here its terrible force was spent and the tide turned, never to rise again. One look at the field of battle showed that the Union force had won; it showed, too, the truth of Wellington's words: "A great victory is the saddest thing in the world, except a great defeat." *

Meade's losses were so heavy that he judged it best not to pursue the retreating Confederates and bring on another battle. Lee crossed the Potomac unmolested, and once more took up his line of defence before Richmond. A few months later a part of the field at Gettysburg was dedicated as a national military cemetery; and the President, standing on the battle-consecrated height, delivered that address which will live as long as the memory of the conflict that inspired it.

* Official estimate: Effective Union force (June 30), 101,679; Confederate force, 77,518. The actual Union force in the field was probably about 93,500, and the Confederate at least 70,000. Union loss, 23,003; Confederate loss, 20,451. No two authorities agree as to the number of men in Pickett's column. Longstreet ("Manassas to Appomattox," p. 314) says 15,000.

485. News of the capture of Vicksburg; how Grant accomplished it. — From a military point of view, the Fourth of July, 1863, was the most memorable day in our national history since the close of the Revolution. On that day the telegraph flashed the news of the victory of Gettysburg throughout the loyal North; on that day, too, Grant entered the Confederate stronghold of Vicksburg.

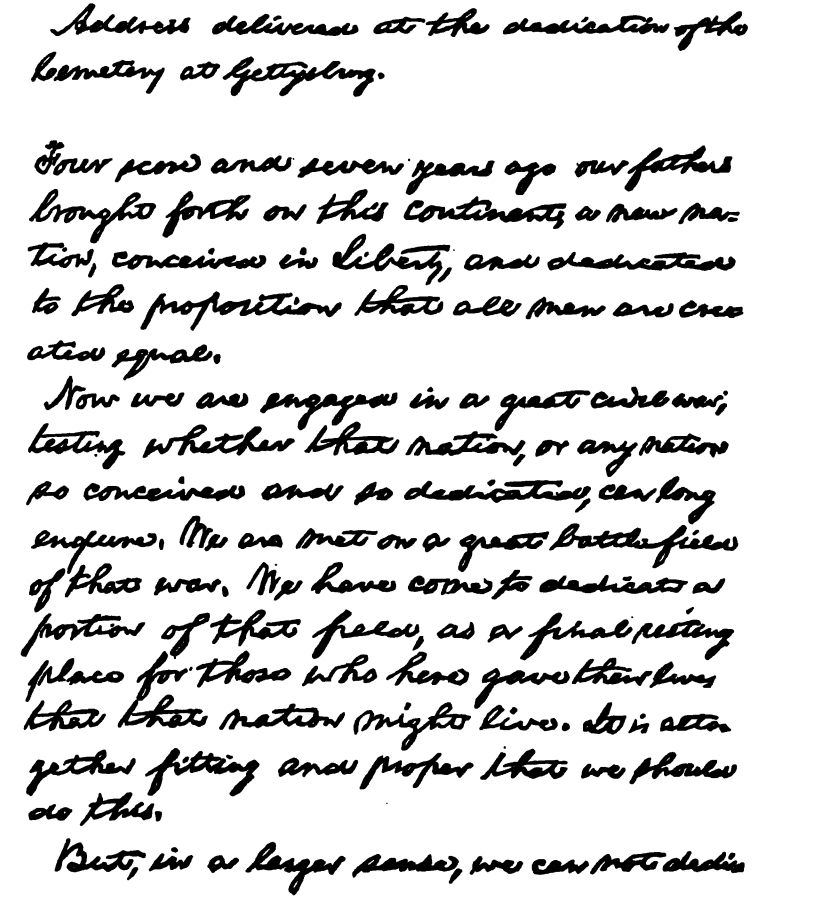
Vicksburg was the "Gibraltar of the West." Standing on a clay bluff rising perpendicularly two hundred feet above the Mississippi, it defied attack in front. On the north it was protected, as Sherman had found to his cost (§ 479), by a network of almost impassable bayous and swamps. On the south and rear it could only be approached by climbing steep ridges cut by deep ravines.

Grant arrived on the west bank of the Mississippi just above Vicksburg in January, 1863. He made up his mind that the true way to attack the place would be to go back to Memphis, a distance of about two hundred miles, make that city his base of supplies, and then move his army down along the line of railroad to the rear of Vicksburg. But political reasons, he says, forbade his adopting this course. It was a period of gloom and doubt at the North. McClellan's movement on Richmond had failed; Pope had been defeated at Bull Run. Lee had got away from Antietam, and was once more defiant. The election of 1862 had gone against the vigorous prosecution of the contest against secession. "Many strong Union men," says Grant, "believed that the war must prove a failure." "Voluntary enlistments had nearly ceased, and the draft was resisted." [1917] Under these circumstances he feared that the North would regard any backward movement as a retreat; for this reason he finally determined to move down the western bank of the river, cross over, and then attack Vicksburg from the rear.

Grant had to solve the problem: (1) of getting his army of over 40,000 men past the Vicksburg batteries, and (2) of

FACSIMILE OF MR. LINCOLN'S AUTOGRAPHIC COPY OF THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS, MADE BY HIM FOR THE SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' FAIR AT BALTIMORE, IN 1864.

From Nicolay and Hay's "Lincoln," by permission of the Authors.


Address delivered at the dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this Continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate

cate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln.

November 19, 1863.

crossing the Mississippi and securing a base of operations south of the city. The land on which the long line of Union forces was encamped was low and swampy, and incessant rains made it difficult for the troops to find ground on which to pitch their tents.

The winter was spent in endeavoring to turn the Mississippi from its course by digging a canal across the peninsula opposite Vicksburg so that the army might be moved south by water. This work, with other attempts of a similar character, failed; but as Grant says, it served the important end of diverting the attention of the enemy, keeping a part of the troops busy, and pacifying the impatience of the press.[1218]

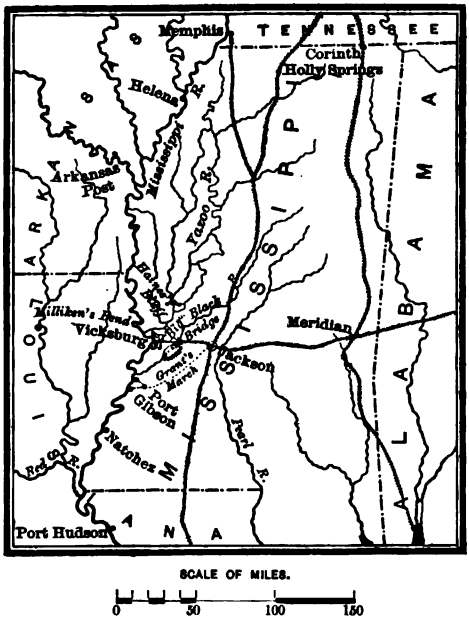
486. Grant crosses the river; campaign against Johnston and Pemberton. — When spring came and the water had receded so that marching became practicable, Grant gave orders to move. Porter, having protected his gunboats with bales of cotton and hay, ran past the Vicksburg batteries in the night (April 16, 1863). Grant's army then marched down the west bank a distance of about seventy miles, and on the last of April (1863) Porter's fleet began to ferry the men across the river. Pemberton, the Confederate general, had a force about 40,000 strong in and around Vicksburg. He attempted to prevent the Union army from landing, but without success.

General Joseph E. Johnston (§ 468) hurried up to Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, with reinforcements from Tennessee for Pemberton. Grant at once moved eastward on Jackson, and drove Johnston out of the place (May 14, 1863). He then destroyed the railroads centering there and the manufactories of military goods, and so cut off Pemberton's supplies, all of which had come through Jackson.

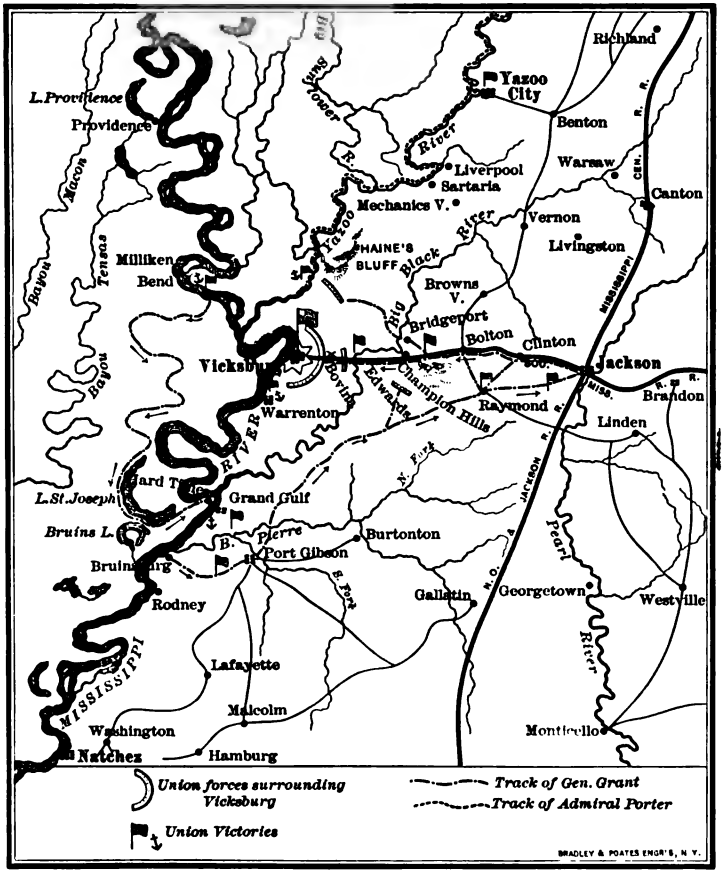
Grant next turned on Pemberton, who had come out from Vicksburg to join Johnston. He whipped the Confederate commander in the battle at Champion Hills (May 16, 1863), and the next day at the bridge over the Big Black River. Pemberton then fled back to Vicksburg and shut himself up in that

stronghold with his army, reduced to about 28,000 men. Grant followed and made two attempts to take the city by assault. Failing to force an entrance, he fortified his rear against Johnston, and towards the last of May (1863) sat down to begin the famous siege of Vicksburg.

487. Siege and capture of Vicksburg; fall of Port Hudson. — The "boys in blue" set to work with a will. They dug trenches by the mile and set up batteries by the score. For nearly seven weeks, Porter's fleet on one side, and the Union army on the other, kept up an incessant fire on the doomed city. Meanwhile the opposing forces were digging mines and countermines to blow each other up. The pitiless storm of shells drove many of the inhabitants of Vicksburg from their homes. They burrowed in the sides of the hills for safety until the place was so honeycombed with caves that the streets looked like avenues of tombs in a cemetery.[1219] Late in June (1863) the Union men blew up a fort they had mined, and, rushing into the breach, tried again to take Vicksburg by assault, but they met with a decided repulse.



The provisions in the city were getting dangerously low. The Chief Engineer of the Vicksburg defences says that mule



SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

meat and rats were regarded as "delicacies"; [1220] meanwhile the sick and wounded were increasing so fast that they at length reached 6000. Many of Pemberton's men began to lose heart, and said to him in a written appeal: "If you can't feed us, you had better surrender us." [1221]

Finally, the Confederate commander decided to hang out the white flag. He knew that Grant was making preparations for a grand assault; he knew, too, that even if his worn-out men could repulse the attack, they could not repulse starvation. Negotiations were completed at the very time that Meade's forces were driving back Lee at Gettysburg (§ 484). The victorious Union army entered the town on the Fourth of July (1863), and were soon sharing their provisions with those whom they had so recently been engaged in "starving out."

Nearly 32,000 prisoners (non-combatants included) were taken, besides many cannon and great quantities of small arms.* General Badeau says it was "the largest capture of men and material ever made in war," — Napoleon's campaigns not excepted.[1222]

Port Hudson (§ 467) below Vicksburg capitulated to General Banks a few days later (July 9, 1863). The South no longer held a fort or a battery on the Mississippi. The Confederacy was fairly and finally cut in two, and the "Father of Waters," as Lincoln declared, once more rolled "unvexed to the sea." [1223]

488. Battle of Chickamauga. — While Grant was besieging Vicksburg (§ 487), Rosecrans (§ 479), in his brilliant Tullahoma campaign (June 24–July 7, 1863), drove Bragg across the Tennessee into Chattanooga, and then, by threatening his communications, drove him out across the Georgia line. Bragg, having received reinforcements, turned on his pursuer at Chickamauga. Two severe battles were fought

* Official estimate: Union force at the beginning of the Vicksburg campaign, 43,000; at its close, 75,000. Confederate force under Pemberton, over 40,000; reduced before the siege of Vicksburg to 28,000. Union loss, 9362; Confederate loss, probably over 10,000.

(September 19, 20, 1863), in which Rosecrans was badly beaten. Thomas saved the Union army from destruction. He held his ground, repulsed a force much larger than his own, and then fell back in good order to Chattanooga. In admiration of the stubborn courage of their commander, the Union troops named Thomas the "Rock of Chickamauga." He now superseded Rosecrans and took command of the army he had saved.*

489. Bragg besieges Chattanooga; battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. — Bragg pursued the Union forces to Chattanooga, and entrenched himself on the heights of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge above the town. He then destroyed the railway connecting Chattanooga with Nashville; this cut off Thomas from his base of supplies. Grant saw that the situation was fast getting desperate, and sent word to Thomas to hold on if possible until he could bring him help. The "Rock of Chickamauga" replied: "I will hold on till we starve." [1234]

Meanwhile Bragg, feeling confident that he held the Union army in a trap, sent off part of his forces under Longstreet to capture Burnside in Knoxville. Longstreet failed to compel Burnside to surrender, and withdrew to strengthen Lee at Richmond.

Grant, with Sherman, Sheridan, and Hooker, hastened to the assistance of Thomas, and ordered Thomas to open the Chattanooga campaign (November 23, 1863). The next day, Hooker swept Bragg's force from Lookout Mountain, in the famous "Battle above the Clouds" (November 24, 1863), and planted the stars and stripes on the crest of the height.

The day following (November 25, 1863), Sherman, supported by Thomas and Sheridan, led the attack on Missionary Ridge. When the Union men had stormed the first line of Confederate rifle-pits, the order to halt was given. But instead

* Official estimate: Union force, 56,965; Confederate force, 71,551; Union loss, 16,179; Confederate loss, 17,804.

of stopping, the men with ringing cheers started up the steep sides of the Ridge and, scrambling over bowlders and fallen trees, charged Bragg's flying forces with irresistible fury.* Bragg fell back across the Georgia line to Dalton, to protect Atlanta; here he was superseded by Joseph E. Johnston (§ 486).

490. Sherman's raid on Meridian; Grant made General-in-Chief. — Early in February (1864), Grant despatched Sherman westward to destroy Meridian, Mississippi. It was a place of great importance to the Confederates on account of the railways centering there. Sherman set 10,000 men at the work of destruction. They labored with all their might for nearly a week. Nothing was left of the town that axes or sledge-hammers could smash, or that fire could burn. When the work of devastation was completed, Sherman could truthfully report: 'Meridian no longer exists.'[1225] This liberated a large Union force, hitherto on guard in Mississippi, and so strengthened the army which could be used in advancing against Johnston.

The President had observed, as he said, that wherever Grant was, "things moved," and he was anxious to give him a chance against Richmond. Congress revived the grade of Lieutenant-General, and Lincoln now (March 12, 1864) conferred the honor upon the man who had taken Vicksburg and beaten Bragg. He was the first officer of the army who had regularly received the title since Washington.† Thus, the "Unconditional Surrender" Grant of Fort Donelson (§ 463) came into command of all the Union forces. Leaving Sherman at the head of the Western army, Grant went East to prepare for the great final campaign against the Confederate capital. Sherman on his part made ready to move against Joseph E. Johnston (§ 489) at Atlanta, or wherever he should find him.

* Official estimate: Union force (effective strength), 60,000; Confederate force, probably about 45,000; Union loss, 5815; Confederate loss, 6687.

† Scott held it only by brevet.

491. Summary of the third year of the war (April, 1863–April, 1864). — The third year of the war opened with Lee's defeat of Hooker at Chancellorsville, but also with the Confederate loss of "Stonewall" Jackson. On July 3, Lee was driven back at Gettysburg, and the next day Grant entered Vicksburg; the surrender of Port Hudson followed, opening the Mississippi and cutting the Confederacy in two.

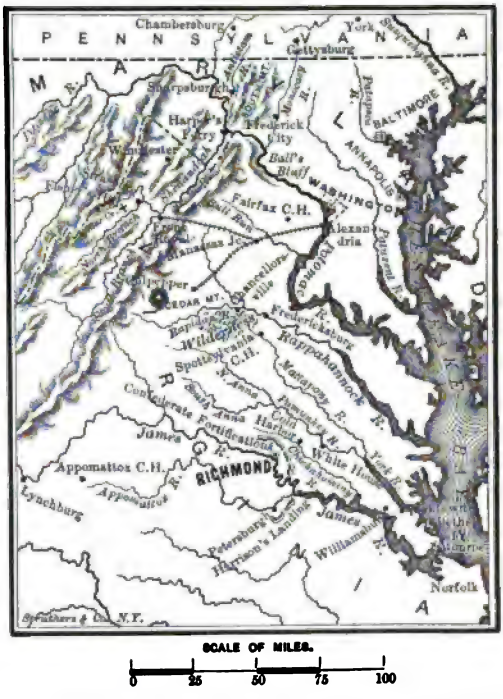
In the autumn Rosecrans drove Bragg out of Tennessee, but was defeated at Chickamauga and driven to take refuge in Chattanooga. Grant's army came to the relief of the Union forces shut up in Chattanooga, and in the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge compelled Bragg to retreat into Georgia. Sherman annihilated Meridian, and Grant was soon afterwards put in command of all the Union armies, and called East to move against Richmond.

FOURTH AND FINAL YEAR OF THE WAR, APRIL, 1864, TO APRIL, 1865.

492. Grant's "hammering campaign"; the twofold advance; the battle of the "Wilderness." — Up to the spring of 1864 the Union armies of the East and West had acted, said Grant, "like a balky team" — never pulling together.[1226] The new General-in-Chief resolved that in future both should start at the word "Go!" He was determined to "hammer" the Confederates day and night until he should literally pound them to pieces.[1227] His plan was to keep Lee so busy that he could not send help to Johnston, while Sherman kept Johnston so busy that he could not help Lee.

On May 4, 1864, Grant crossed the Rapidan just above Fredericksburg and entered the tangled forest of the "Wilderness," — a region filled with a gloom like that of the "shadow of death." Seated on a log in that desolate region, Grant telegraphed to Sherman to advance at once against Johnston (§ 490).

Meanwhile Grant had sent General Butler with a force nearly 40,000 strong up the James River to threaten Richmond from the south, while another Union army of 20,000 men commanded by General Hunter was sent up the Shenandoah Valley to threaten the Confederate capital from the west. The enemy "bottled up" Butler on a peninsula on the James River, and drove out the Union force from the Shenandoah Valley, so that in the end Grant had to rely entirely on his own army.



Grant had an effective force of 118,000 men, or nearly twice as many as Lee's entire force, counting the reserve held at Richmond;[1228] but Lee had the immense advantage of knowing every foot of the difficult ground, and as fast as he was driven from one line of intrenchments he had another ready to fall back upon.[1229]

The battle of the "Wilderness" (May 6–7, 1864) was a desperate two days' encounter, in which neither side could show any positive gain. The combatants fought in a labyrinth of woods where they scarcely saw each other. The losses on both sides were frightful.

493. Spottsylvania; Cold Harbor; change of base; Petersburg. — Two days later, Grant, in making the attempt to get between Lee and Richmond, had to fight the battle of Spottsylvania Court House (May 9, 10, 1864). Again the Union army suffered terribly; but the Union commander, in no wise discouraged, telegraphed to Washington: "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer."[1230] But even the conqueror of Vicksburg found that he could not continue to advance on that line further than the North Anna River. He then fell back to the Pamunkey and advanced to Cold Harbor. There, within sight of the outer circle of the fortifications of Richmond, the "boys in blue" charged on Lee's intrenchments, and lost about 10,000 men in twenty minutes.[1231] Grant himself said that he always regretted ordering that assault.[1232]

He now found the swamps of the Chickahominy (§ 468) such a serious obstacle to his further advance that he crossed over to the south side of the James River. Lee fell back behind the line of works which extended around Richmond. Petersburg, on a tributary of the James, formed part of that circle of defence. Grant tried in vain to storm the city; failing to do this, he resolved to carry it by siege as he had Vicksburg, but it proved to be a ten months' job.

During the six weeks of fighting (May 5–June 15, 1864) in which the Union army had been engaged since they left the Rapidan, Grant had lost nearly 55,000 men, or almost as many as Lee's entire force in the field.[1233] Lee's losses were only partially reported, but he must have suffered terribly. He knew that the Confederacy was fast exhausting its force, and that it could not replace the men that had fallen. Lee had succeeded in shaking off every other general that had attacked him, but now he felt a grip that he could not shake off.

494. Early's raid; the burning of Chambersburg; Sheridan retaliates. — In the vain hope of compelling Grant to relax his hold on Petersburg, Lee in June despatched Early with about 20,000 men on a raid northward.[1234] He moved

down the Shenandoah Valley — that convenient Confederate avenue of attack — and threatened the national capital itself. The alarm at Washington was so great that the President appealed to Grant to come to the rescue, and the convalescents from the hospitals and the clerks in the Government departments were mustered into service.[1235] Had Early moved promptly (July 11, 1864), "he might have entered the capital";[1236] but he delayed action just long enough to give Grant time to throw reinforcements into that fort-girdled city. The Confederate general then fell back, carrying off many thousand horses and cattle, with other plunder. Finding that he was not pursued, he sent a detachment of cavalry into Pennsylvania to levy a contribution on Chambersburg. The citizens were called on to furnish $100,000 in gold, or $500,000 in "greenbacks." They could not or would not comply with the demand, and the raiders laid the town in ashes, leaving 3000 non-combatants without food or shelter.

Grant resolved to retaliate by cleaning out the Shenandoah Valley so that the Confederates could no longer draw provisions from it to feed their armies. He selected Sheridan, who had distinguished himself in his raids on the enemy's supplies, to do the work of destruction. Grant says that the only order this energetic soldier required was the simple command: "Go in!" Sheridan, with an effective force of about 26,000 men,[1237] "went in." He started from the lower part of the Valley at Harper's Ferry (September 19, 1864) and moved slowly up to the top, driving the last armed Confederate out of the region.

Then (October 6, 1864) he turned and moved down the Valley, devastating it as he advanced. He slaughtered or drove off thousands of cattle and sheep, burned more than seventy grist-mills and more than two thousand barns filled with hay and grain. When he had finished he had stripped the Valley so bare of food supplies that it was said, a crow could not fly through it unless he carried his provisions with him.

495. "Sheridan's ride"; the Petersburg mine. — Lee now ordered Early to make an attempt to recover the desolated Valley, which, though destitute of supplies, still remained a most convenient thoroughfare for raids on the North. Early moved cautiously, and under cover of darkness attacked and nearly defeated the Union forces at Cedar Creek (October 19, 1864).

Sheridan had just returned to Winchester from Washington. Hearing heavy firing in the direction of Cedar Creek, and suspecting something wrong, he mounted his horse and rode toward that point. The retreating Union men when they met their commander turned of their own accord and started for the front. Sheridan's arrival on the field was greeted with cheer after cheer. Swinging his hat, he dashed along the line of battle shouting: "Never mind, boys, we'll whip them yet." [1338] The "boys" responded by throwing up their caps and hurrahing with the wildest joy. Before night set in they drove Early out of the Valley. The Confederates never entered it in force again, and never attempted to make another raid through it.

Meanwhile Grant had burrowed beneath the defences of Petersburg (§ 493), and on the last of July (1864) he exploded a gigantic mine under one of the Confederate forts. A detachment of Union troops rushed into the "crater" to force their way into the city. The commander did not act promptly, and the attacking party were caught in a death-trap. The enemy's guns opened upon the struggling mass of men in the "crater," and about 4000 brave fellows were killed or taken prisoners. In his report, Grant called the Petersburg mine a "stupendous failure." [1339]

496. Sherman advances on Atlanta. — On May 4, 1864, the day on which Grant advanced into the "Wilderness" (§ 492), Sherman, in obedience to orders, moved against Joseph E. Johnston (§ 490). Sherman had an army nearly 100,000 strong. Johnston had only about half as many men, but he was

strongly intrenched among the hills at Dalton, Georgia, and he knew the country. Again, Sherman had to draw his supplies over a single-track line of railroad, open to guerrilla raids, while Johnston was exposed to no such danger.[1940]

By a skillful flank movement, Sherman compelled Johnston to abandon Dalton (May 13, 1864) and fall back to Resaca. From this point Sherman, in a series of battles, forced his antagonist back to Allatoona, then to Dallas, then to Kenesaw Mountain. He continued to push him step by step until he drove him across the Chattahoochie River (July 9, 1864), and the Union army caught sight of the spires of Atlanta, — the most important center in the Confederacy for the manufacture of military supplies and for their distribution by rail.

497. Sherman takes Atlanta. — Jefferson Davis thought Johnston was too slow. He now relieved him from his command, and put the impetuous Hood at the head of the Confederate forces in Georgia. Hood was a "fighter." He made a furious attack (July 20–24, 1864) on the Union army, but the "battle of Atlanta" went against him, and Hood had to retreat and seek shelter within the intrenchments of the city.

Sherman, fighting his way, worked round to the right, in order to cut the railroad on which Hood depended for his supplies. The Confederate general seeing that he could not continue to hold the city, blew up his works and decamped in the night (September 1, 1864). The next morning the Union forces entered Atlanta in triumph.*

Jefferson Davis then ordered Hood to move northward and threaten Nashville. The Union commander heard with joy that Hood was advancing in that direction, and sent Thomas to look after him. It is reported that Sherman said: "If Hood will go to Tennessee, I will give him rations to go with"; [1941] could he have forseen the result of the conflict with

* Official estimate: Union force nearly 100,000; Confederate force not reported, but estimated at 60,000; Union loss in the advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta about 40,000; Confederate loss about the same.

Thomas, he would have promised his adversary double rations. But Jefferson Davis declared that Sherman was lost. Hood, he said, was now in his rear, while Johnston was in front; he predicted that these two Confederate millstones would grind the Union army to powder.

498. Sherman removes the citizens of Atlanta. — Sherman had decided to make Atlanta "a pure military garrison or depot, with no civil population to influence military measures." The reasons he gave for coming to that decision were: (1) that if he permitted the inhabitants to remain, he would have to feed them, and he felt that he had all he could do to feed his army; and (2) he would have to maintain a strong force "to guard and protect the interests of a hostile population." [1863]

He therefore ordered (September 12, 1864) the inhabitants to leave the place, offering to provide free transportation for all, either northward or southward. Hood and the authorities of Atlanta protested against the "heartless cruelty" of this order. Sherman replied: "War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it; and those who brought war into our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out." "We don't want your negroes or your horses or your houses or your lands or anything you have; but we do want, and will have, a just obedience to the laws of the United States." "I want peace, and believe it can only be reached through union and war . . . when peace does come, you may call on me for anything. Then I will share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your homes and families against danger from every quarter." [1863]

499. Admission of two new States; the presidential election (1864). — During the progress of the war, two new States, West Virginia (1863) and Nevada (1864), were admitted to the Union, making the total number of States thirty-six.

While Grant was besieging Petersburg and Sherman was holding Atlanta, the presidential election took place. Originally three candidates were in the field. The Radical Repub-

licans, who thought Lincoln moved too slowly and dealt too tenderly with "the rebellion," had nominated John C. Frémont (§ 461). In September (1864) Frémont withdrew his name and the Radicals then united with the regular Republicans. They, in connection with many War Democrats, united in renominating Lincoln, with Andrew Johnson, a War Democrat of Tennessee, for Vice-President. The Union Convention warmly endorsed the measures of the administration. They voted the thanks of the American people to the army and navy that had vindicated the honor of the country's flag, and they pledged the national faith for the payment of the public debt.

The Democratic Convention, under the control of the Peace Democracy, declared that the object of the party was "to preserve the federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired." They accused the administration of violating the Constitution under plea of military necessity. They further declared that "after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war," the public welfare demanded "that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities." Like the Republicans, they acknowledged the debt they owed to "the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic," and pledged themselves to secure to them the care and protection that they had so "nobly earned." [1944]

The Convention nominated General McClellan for the presidency. McClellan virtually repudiated the platform on which he was nominated. He said: "The Union must be preserved at all hazards. I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy, who have survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors and the sacrifices of so many of our slain and wounded brethren had been in vain." [1945]

Twenty-five States voted at the election, and of these thirteen cast an army vote as well as a home vote. McClellan received 21 electoral votes; Lincoln received 212, carrying every State which took part in the election except New Jersey, Delaware,

and Kentucky. The popular Democratic vote stood 1,808,725, to 2,216,067 cast for the Republican candidate.

500. Allatoona; Sherman burns Atlanta and sets out for the sea. — Meanwhile a Confederate force had attacked Allatoona, Sherman's secondary base of supplies. General Corse fought desperately to hold the place. He lost nearly a third of his little force, and reported himself "short a cheek and an ear," but he held out until help arrived and the attacking party withdrew. Sherman issued a general order giving Corse high praise for his gallant defence of this important position.[1946]

But the Union commander saw that he could hardly hope to advance into the heart of the Confederacy and at the same time keep his lines of communication open in the rear. His supplies of food, ammunition, arms, and clothing — amounting to 150 car-loads a day — had to come all the way from Nashville by a single-track road, which might be cut at any time.

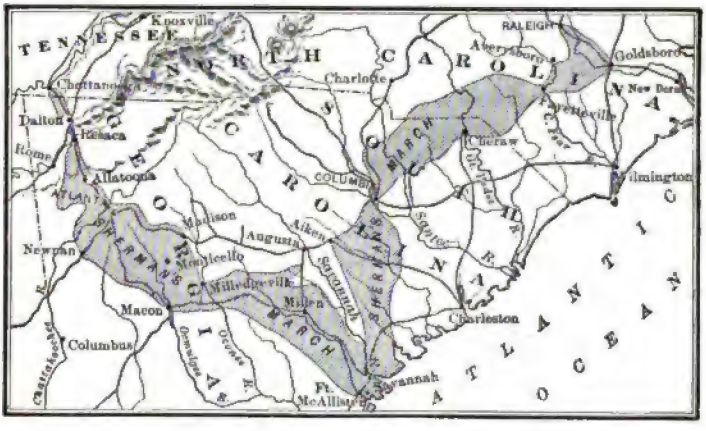
With Grant's consent Sherman now decided on the boldest move of the war. He resolved to abandon Atlanta, sever all communication with the North, and strike out across the country for the sea — "smashing things" as he went.

He first destroyed the railroad and telegraph lines in his rear, so that the enemy could not use them. He next applied the torch to Atlanta, burning all factories, machine shops, and other works, so that they could be no longer useful to the Confederate forces, in case they should reoccupy the city.

Then (November 15, 1864), with 60,000 "as good soldiers as ever trod the earth," [1947] he set off on his great march. As the Union army left the smoking ruins of Atlanta, a band struck up "John Brown's soul goes marching on;" and regiment after regiment spontaneously broke out into the "Hallelujah" chorus of that famous song.

501. Sherman's "bummers"; the "freedmen." — Sherman carried a goodly store of provisions with him, but he purposed to draw largely from the region through which he passed.

His orders were: "Forage liberally." Every morning a body of men nicknamed "bummers" set out to obtain supplies. They started on foot, scouring the country for many miles in every direction; at night they came back mounted on horses or mules or riding in some family carriage, laden down with pigs, chickens, hams, bags of sweet potatoes, and jugs of mo-



Sherman's March — Chattanooga to Atlanta; Atlanta to Savannah; Savannah to Raleigh.

lasses. What with his cavalry and his foraging parties, Sherman cut a swath not far from sixty miles in width. The Confederate forces were not strong enough to oppose him, and retired as he advanced. Their "bummers" — for they, like Sherman, lived off the country — were quite as greedy for good things as the Union men. Between the ravages of the two the plantations were stripped bare.

As Sherman advanced he systematically destroyed all lines of railroad, in order to cripple the Confederate means of transportation. The soldiers not only tore up the rails, but heated them red-hot in huge fires, and then twisted them round trees.

The negroes welcomed the "boys in blue" with frantic joy. They shouted, hugged the regimental colors, and crowded round

Sherman with prayers and tears that he says "would have moved a stone." To them the stern destroyer was the "angel of the Lord" who had come to set them free.[1248]

502. Milledgeville; Savannah; Thomas vs. Hood. — Sherman reached Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia, late in November (1864), and burned all buildings which the Confederates could use for military purposes. He then moved forward by way of Millen to Savannah. Early in December (1864), twenty-four days after leaving Atlanta, he reached the sea, and put himself in communication with the federal gunboats. He stormed Fort McAllister, entered the port which it guarded, and sent word to the President: "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah." The message reached the "White House" on Christmas eve (1864).

Sherman remained at Savannah more than a month in order to rest his army. In his great march of 300 miles through the heart of the Confederacy, he had lost less than 800 men.

Meanwhile Hood (§ 497) had met part of Thomas's force at Franklin, Tennessee, and had driven them to seek safety in Nashville. He next moved against the "Rock of Chickamauga" himself (§ 488), but on that rock he was dashed to pieces. The battle of Nashville (December 15, 16, 1864) ended in the utter rout of Hood's army as an effective force. The great mass of his men were reduced to a "disheartened and disorganized rabble," glad to throw down their arms in order to end their sufferings. But Hood's famous rear guard never flinched, and Thomas gladly paid them the tribute of respect that a brave man never grudges to brave men — no matter how mistaken their cause may be.[1249] The victory at Nashville was far-reaching.* It put an end to all thoughts of the invasion of the North, and left only one strong Confederate army in the field, and that was gathered about Richmond.

* Official estimate: Union force, 70,272; available force in and about Nashville, December 15, 1864, at least 55,000. Confederate force, nearly 39,000. Union loss, 3057; Confederate loss, 15,000.

503. The "Kearsarge" vs. the "Alabama"; Farragut enters Mobile; capture of Fort Fisher. — While these stirring events were taking place on land, the Union navy was doing its full part at sea and along the coast. Of the score of Confederate cruisers (§ 454) which roamed the ocean "seeking what they might devour," none was so much dreaded as the notorious "Alabama." She was built (1862) in a British shipyard, armed with British guns, and manned, in great part, by British sailors, under the command of Captain Semmes.* In less than two years Semmes captured nearly seventy American merchantmen and destroyed property worth $10,000,000.

Captain Winslow of the United States man-of-war "Kearsarge," after vainly cruising for months, at length encountered the "Alabama" off Cherbourg, France. After a memorable battle (June 19, 1864) the Union commander sent this scourge of the ocean to the bottom.

Late in the summer (1864), Farragut,† the hero of New Orleans (§ 467), entered Mobile Bay. He said it was "one of the hardest-earned victories of his life." The entrance to the bay was defended by forts on opposite sides, by a thickly rammed line of piles, and by a triple line of torpedoes, which left only a narrow opening into the harbor. Inside the bay

* The "Alabama" was built by the Lairds of Birkenhead, England, for the Confederate States. Hon. Charles Francis Adams, our Minister to England, urged the English Government not to permit her to sail; after much delay the law-officers of the crown recommended her seizure, but on that very day (July 29, 1862) she escaped and began her career of destruction. The following year the Lairds built two powerful ironclad rams for the Confederate States. Mr. Adams asked the English Government to detain them. The head of the Foreign Office replied that the legal evidence was insufficient. Mr. Adams rejoined with a despatch, in which he said: "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war." Shortly after the receipt of this letter, the English authorities issued orders to seize and hold the rams.

† Farragut, Scott, and Thomas were all Southerners by birth; but they felt that they owed their first duty to the Union, instead of to their State.

the "Tennessee," a formidable ironclad ram, stood ready to receive the attacking party.

Farragut fully realized the desperate work before him. The day preceding the battle he wrote home: "I am going into Mobile in the morning, if God is my leader, as I hope he is."

The Union commander's favorite maxim was: "To hurt your enemy is the best way to keep him from hurting you." [1380] He acted on that maxim at Mobile. Lashed in the rigging of the "Hartford," Farragut, with his fleet of four ironclads and fifteen wooden vessels, fought his way, foot by foot, into the harbor (August 5, 1864). The forts soon afterward surrendered to the attack of a land force, and the last important port on the Gulf coast was occupied by the Union forces.

In recognition of Farragut's distinguished service, Congress created the office of vice-admiral for him (December, 1864), and later (1866) that of admiral. He had fairly won them both.

Near the close of 1864 Porter's fleet, aided by a land force under Butler, made an attack on Fort Fisher, which guarded the entrance of the harbor of Wilmington, North Carolina. It was the last port in the Confederacy which remained open to blockade-runners. The attack failed. The next month (January 13–15, 1865) a second assault was made by Porter and Terry. The garrison of the fort fought bravely, but none the less they had at last to haul down the stars-and-bars, and see the stars-and-stripes hoisted in their place.

504. Sherman advances northward; arrival at Columbia. — It was Grant's intention to transport Sherman's army from Savannah (§ 502) to Virginia by sea; but Sherman believed that if he marched through the Carolinas he could render the cause of the Union more effective service. He consulted Grant on this point and received permission to carry out his plan. The march through Georgia was regarded as something like a "military picnic," but the forward movement presented many formidable obstacles. It would be necessary for the men to build

FLAG SHIP.... Hartford

WESTERN GULF BLOCKADING SQUADRON.

Off Mobile Augt. 4th 1864

My dearest Wife,

I write to leave this letter for you. I am going into Mobile Bay in the morning if "God is my leader" as I hope he is, & in him I place my trust, if he thinks it is the proper place for me to die I am ready to submit to his will, in that as all other things. * * * *

D. G. Farragut

FARRAGUT'S LETTER.

bridges over many swollen streams, to wade at times breast-deep in water, to hew their way through dense forests, to construct scores of miles of "corduroy" road over treacherous soil and swamp, and finally to hold themselves in readiness to fight Johnston's army. That the men did their work thoroughly is evident from the fact that Johnston himself complimented Sherman's veterans by saying, "there had been no such army since the days of Julius Cæsar." [1261]

Sherman began his march from Savannah on February 1 (1865), and in less than three weeks he entered Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. He found the city on fire. When Wade Hampton, the Confederate general, retreated, he set fire to a quantity of cotton, and the flames spread to the houses. Sherman ordered his men to endeavor to stop the progress of the conflagration; but a high wind made this impossible, and the heart of the city was burned out. Meanwhile the Union soldiers helped themselves to the old wines, silverware, and rich carpets, which the wealthy secessionists of Charleston had sent to Columbia for safe keeping. Had Sherman deliberately plundered and then burned the city he would have done no more than Early's cavalry had done at Chambersburg (§ 494). On the contrary, when the Union commander left Columbia he gave the mayor generous supplies of food to feed the destitute.[1262]

505. Capture of Charleston; battles of Averysboro' and Bentonville; Conference at Hampton Roads; Lincoln's second inauguration. — Now that Sherman's army had got in the rear of Charleston, and by breaking up the railroad had cut off supplies, the Confederates gave up the attempt to hold the city. The Union forces when they entered it (February 18, 1865) found it on fire, but by hard work they saved it from entire destruction.

By the middle of March (1865) Sherman was far on his way to Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina. He encountered Johnston's army near Kinston, and at Averysboro' and Benton-

ville (March 14, 16, 19–21, 1865). After some sharp fighting, especially at Bentonville, the Confederates retreated, and Sherman entered Goldsboro' (March 23, 1865).* Here the great march virtually ended. Sherman then went to City Point to meet the President, General Grant, and Rear-Admiral Porter and to complete arrangements for beginning the last campaign of the war.

Meanwhile Alexander H. Stephens, with two other Confederate commissioners, met President Lincoln and Secretary Seward at Hampton Roads (February 3, 1865) and made overtures for peace.† The commissioners "were not authorized to concede the reunion of the States." The President would not treat on any other basis, and so the Conference ended without accomplishing anything.

The next month (March 4, 1865), Lincoln entered upon his second term of office. He finished his inaugural address with these words: "Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God will that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword; as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as

* Official estimate: Union force, about 58,000; Confederate force, reported by Johnston, less than 20,000. Union loss at Bentonville, 1646; Confederate loss reported by Johnston, 2606.

† In July, 1864, certain Confederates in Canada wrote to Horace Greeley proposing a Peace Conference at Niagara. Greeley urged the President to respond favorably to it, saying: "It may save us from a Northern insurrection." The President deputed Greeley to meet the Confederates in Canada, but explicitly declined to consider any terms proposed unless responsibly accredited agents of the Confederate Government would come to Washington and present their case. The whole matter terminated in failure. See Greeley's "American Conflict," II. 664.

God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans, — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." [1263]

506. Sheridan's raid; fall of Petersburg and of Richmond; surrender of Lee and Johnston; assassination of Lincoln. — In the field of war, events now moved rapidly toward the final crisis. Sheridan's cavalry destroyed (March 19, 1865) a part of the James River Canal and the Lynchburg Railroad which furnished supplies for Richmond. He then pushed on to Five Forks, twelve miles southwest of Petersburg, overwhelmed the Confederate garrison at that important road center (April 1, 1865), and took nearly 6000 prisoners. The capture of Five Forks cut off Lee's supplies for Petersburg. The Confederate general saw that he must abandon the town; [1264] but to give up Petersburg meant giving up Richmond.

The next day (April 2, 1865), Grant ordered the final assault on Petersburg. It was gallantly defended, but it fell. That night Lee retreated from both Petersburg and Richmond, and Jefferson Davis fled, but was soon afterward captured.* On the following day (April 3, 1865), the Union forces entered the Confederate capital.

Lee's only hope of escape now lay in moving southward and uniting with Johnston. But Lee's men were in a starving condition, and many threw away their arms and took to the woods. Sheridan intercepted the remnant of the Confederate leader's

* Jefferson Davis was imprisoned in Fort Monroe; he was indicted for treason; but was released on bail in 1867. On Christmas Day, 1868, President Johnson granted a full, unconditional pardon to all persons who had been engaged "in the late insurrection or rebellion." The Government, therefore, took no further action against Davis; with the single exception of disability to hold office, imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution (which Congress refused to remove), Davis was relieved from all penalties for his attempt to destroy the Union. He died at New Orleans in 1889.

force before he could reach Johnston. On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House. Grant treated his fallen foe with characteristic magnanimity. He simply stipulated that Lee's army should lay down their arms and pledge themselves to obey the laws of the United States. He allowed the men to take their horses home with them "to work their little farms." [1255] The Union commander then issued an order to furnish Lee's half-famished army with 25,000 rations.* Meanwhile the "men in blue" and the "men in gray" were mingling as friends. The Union soldiers made haste to share their provisions with their former antagonists; and the officers of both armies greeted each other with the heartiness of fellow-countrymen who felt that they were no longer foes, but that henceforth they would fight under the same flag.

Less than three weeks later, Johnston surrendered his army (April 26, 1865) to Sherman near Raleigh. But in the midst of the nation's joy a terrible crime had been committed. On the very day (April 14, 1865) that the Union flag was restored on Fort Sumter (§ 449), President Lincoln fell by the hand of an assassin.† Many of the people of the South mingled their tears with those of the North over the bier of one whom "they

* In speaking of Lee's surrender Grant says: "I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause, though that cause was, I believe, one of the worst for which a people ever fought, and one for which there was the least excuse. I do not question, however, the sincerity of the great mass of those who were opposed to us." Grant's "Personal Memoirs," II. 489.

† The President was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an obscure half-crazed actor. He died the following morning (April 15). Booth was one of a number of conspirators who formed a plot to assassinate the President, the Vice-President, Secretary Seward, and General Grant. The plot had no political significance and the Southern leaders had no knowledge of its existence. Booth escaped, but was soon afterwards shot in his hiding-place; the remaining conspirators were tried by military commission, and four were convicted of murder and hanged.

April 7th 1865

Gen

I have rec'd your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion your expresses of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the army of N. Va — I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, & therefore before considering your proposition ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

Very respt your Obt Servt

R E Lee
Genl

Lt Genl U. S. Grant
Comdg Armies of the U. States

LEE'S LETTER OF SURRENDER.

knew to have wished them well." The work of reconstruction which Lincoln had begun now devolved on President Johnson.

507. Summary of the fourth and last year of the war. — In the spring of 1864, Grant began his famous "hammering campaign" against Richmond, while at the same time Sherman (by his orders) moved against Atlanta. After the capture of Atlanta, Sherman set out on his great march for Savannah. Thence he moved northward to Goldsboro', North Carolina, beating back Johnston as he advanced.

Meanwhile Farragut had entered Mobile Bay, and Grant, after a series of terrible battles, had moved round to the south side of the James River and begun the siege of Petersburg, sending Sheridan to drive the Confederates out of the Shenandoah Valley.

In the spring of 1865, Grant took Petersburg and Richmond, and forced Lee to surrender at Appomattox Court House. A few weeks later, Johnston surrendered to Sherman. Meanwhile the national flag had been restored at Fort Sumter, but the President had been assassinated and the work of reconstruction had fallen to President Johnson.

508. Cost of the war in life and treasure. — During the four years of the war, fighting was taking place somewhere along the line every day. The total number of engagements, great and small, count up over 2000. On the Union side the loss of life reached a total of over 360,000, of whom the greater part are buried in the national cemeteries at Gettysburg and elsewhere. Probably the South lost as many as the North; if so, we have a total of over 720,000.[1256] At the North more than two-thirds of the men * who entered the ranks were

* The total number of men who entered the Union army and navy is given by Phisterer, in his "Statistical Record" of the Civil War, at somewhat over 2,850,000 (counting those who reënlisted). The total number of colored troops included in the above estimate is 186,097. It should be noted that the border States of Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky furnished no less than 252,122 to the Union Army; Tennessee (mainly eastern Tennessee) furnished 31,092; and West Virginia 32,068.

American-born ; at the South nearly all were so. The average age, at enlistment, of those who entered the Union army is said to have not exceeded twenty-two.[1257] The expense of the war to the national Government, above the ordinary expenses, was about $3,250,000,000 ;[1258] but allowance must be made for the fact that the Government paid most of its bills, including the army and navy, in "greenbacks" which were worth much less than gold.

The United States, says Colonel Dodge,[1259] paid its soldiers more liberally than any other nation ever paid its troops ; besides this it gave them $300,000,000 in bounties, and has since paid them over $2,000,000,000 in pensions ; if we add the pensions which will continue to be disbursed, the sum may reach a total of nearly $3,000,000,000. If we could add the amounts spent by States and towns for the war, the grand total would exceed $8,000,000,000 — or more than the entire assessed valuation of the loyal States at the outbreak of the contest (§ 453).

The expenditure on the secession side cannot be reckoned ; but it may be said with entire truth that the people of the South stripped themselves bare, and spent their last dollar in their desperate effort to tear the Union asunder. In addition to these losses, the Union armies had destroyed property in that section to an incalculable amount.

509. Results of the war. — But however enormous the cost of life and treasure, the economic, political, and moral results of the war have justified the cost. It is true that this

President Lincoln issued the following calls for troops, during the war : On April 15, 1861, he called for 75,000 three-months men ; between May and July, 1861, he called for 500,000 men for from six months to three years ; in July, 1862, he called for 300,000 three-years men, and in August, 1862, for 300,000 militia for nine months' service, but obtained only 87,588 ; in June, 1863, a call for militia for six months' service brought 16,361. In October, 1863, and February, 1864, he called for 500,000 men, in the aggregate for three years. In these calls the men raised by draft in 1863 are included. In March, 1864, he called for 200,000 three-years men ; in July, 1864, for 500,000, and finally in December, 1864, for 300,000.

struggle, like every other, entailed serious evils on the country, — extravagance, speculation, political corruption, the disorganization of regular labor to a considerable extent, and the temporary increase of pauperism; but the good achieved offset these evils.

1. The war freed the whole country, but especially the South, from the burden and curse of slavery. It made it possible to develop the immense natural resources of that section, which had in great measure lain dormant since the colonization of the country. New energy, new life, new enterprises have sprung up, which have stimulated industry, disseminated education, and re-created the South. These influences are fast making it one of the most prosperous and wealthy parts of the Republic. The negro shares in this new life. A little more than a generation ago, he was so poor that he did not own himself; to-day he is a free laborer — the maker of his own future, and the possessor of property assessed at many millions.

2. The war not only saved the Union, but perfected it. It prohibited the secession principle forever, and stamped that prohibition ineffaceably upon the Constitution "by blood and iron." [1860] The South accepts this fact, and nine of the States which seceded have adopted new constitutions or amended old ones, repudiating disunion as treason.[1861] Thus the terrible struggle completed the work of the founders of the Republic, and, in the words of the Supreme Court (1868), it made the nation "an indestructible Union" of "indestructible States." [1862] In doing this the war showed the world that there is nothing stronger or more stable than what President Lincoln called "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

3. Finally, the contest lifted the whole nation to a higher moral level. It did away with slavery and with the evils which slavery inflicted on black and white alike. It made the Declaration of Independence true, not of one favored race, but of all who to-day claim the name and the rights of American citizens.

In accomplishing this great work, the war has made North and South one in purpose, in patriotism, in brotherhood — it has established a Union resting on mutual respect, and on heart and conscience, which will stand as long as heart and conscience are obeyed.

VII.

RECONSTRUCTION, THE NEW NATION.

(1865 to the Present Time.)

For Authorities for this Chapter, see Appendix, page xxiv. *The small figures in the text refer to Authorities cited on page* xxx *of the Appendix.*

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510. President Johnson; his previous record; attitude toward the South. — A few hours after the death of Lincoln (April 15, 1865), Vice-President Johnson took the oath of office which made him head of the Republic. Like Lincoln, Johnson sprang from the class then known at the South as "Poor Whites." He began the practical work of life at the tailor's board in a log-cabin in eastern Tennessee. He had never attended school, but taught himself to read, and his wife taught him to write. His ambition and force of character led him to enter the field of local politics. He became one of the leaders of the workingmen in his section in their contest with the slave-holding aristocracy. He rose step by step until he became Governor of his State; soon afterward the Democrats elected him (1857) to the United States Senate. He was the only Southern man in the Senate who stood resolutely by the Union and openly denounced secession as "unholy rebellion." [1363]

In the spring of 1862 President Lincoln appointed Senator Johnson military governor of Tennessee. He greatly strengthened the Union cause in that State, and when the Republicans renominated Lincoln to the presidency (1864), they recognized the services of the "War Democrats" by putting Johnson on the ticket as Vice-President. When the assassination of the

President raised him to the highest office in the nation, he entered upon its duties with the declaration: "The American people must be taught to know and understand that treason is a crime." "It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion."[1864] Again he said: "Treason must be made infamous, and traitors must be impoverished."[1865]

511. The "freedmen"; plans for reconstruction. — Two political questions of prime importance pressed for settlement: 1. What should be done to aid and protect the "freedmen"? 2. What action should be taken respecting the restoration or reconstruction of the seceded States?

At the close of the war the Government was confronted with the stupendous problem of providing for several millions of negroes. Tens of thousands of them had followed the Union armies and had been gathered into camps at different points. These poor people were legally free; but that was all. They were "landless, homeless, helpless," and there was danger that many of them would sink into a state of permanent pauperism. One of President Lincoln's last acts was to sign a bill (March 3, 1865) creating the "Freedmen's Bureau." The bureau was to continue for one year; its object was to place the freedmen, as far as practicable, on abandoned or confiscated lands at the South, and render them self-supporting. General O. O. Howard was appointed commissioner, and was invested, he says, with "almost unlimited authority."

The second problem — that of reconstruction — was even more formidable than the negro question, which was necessarily closely bound up with it.

The Constitution was silent in regard to secession and civil war; it threw no light on the delicate, difficult, and dangerous work of restoring or reconstructing the Southern States. Three questions arose: 1. What was the condition of the seceded States, — were they still members of the Union, as a dislocated arm is still a member of the body, or had secession put them wholly out of the Union and were they now simply conquered

territory? 2. Did the power to restore or reconstruct rest with the President or with Congress? 3. What action should be taken respecting the negro? Should he be made a citizen and a voter or simply left free? If the ballot was put in his hands he might swamp the white vote in the South by force of numbers; if simply left free, his presence would increase the basis of representation and so increase the power of the South in Congress. On the other hand, if he could not protect himself he might be virtually reënslaved.

President Lincoln, in accordance with his inaugural address (§ 448), took the position that the Union and the States were alike indestructible and that secession had simply thrown certain States temporarily out of gear with the rest. He believed that it was his work to set them right again. His plan was essentially that of restoration. Toward the last of 1863 he issued a proclamation of amnesty. By it he granted "a full pardon" to "all persons," except the leaders of secession, who had been engaged in the "existing rebellion," provided they should take an oath to support the Constitution and all acts of Congress to date. He furthermore declared that whenever one-tenth or more of the loyal voters of 1860 in the seceded States should reëstablish a State Government in accordance with the Constitution and the oath of allegiance, he would recognize it as "the true government of the State."

President Lincoln added, however, that the admission of such reconstructed States to representation did not rest with him but with Congress.[1866] In this plan no provision was made for negro suffrage.

The radical Republicans in Congress denounced President Lincoln's policy as dangerous to the welfare of the nation, and the next spring (1864) Henry Winter Davis introduced a reconstruction bill which put the whole control of the late Confederate States in the hands of Congress; but like the President's method, it was silent in regard to negro suffrage. President Lincoln killed the bill by a "pocket veto" (§ 365),

mainly on the ground that it was too rigid in its character.[1367] The angry radicals, under the leadership of Senators Davis and Wade, issued an address "to the supporters of the Government," in which they charged Lincoln with deliberately striking "a blow at the friends of the administration, at the rights of humanity, and at the principles of Republican Government." [1368]

The President did not lose his temper; but in the last words which he spoke in public (April 11, 1865) declared his adherence to his own plan of restoration or reconstruction. He earnestly advocated a policy of conciliation toward the seceded States, saying: "We shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it." [1369]

512. President Johnson's plan of reconstruction vs. Congress. — Johnson declared that he held the view of reconstruction which Lincoln had defended. His idea of liberty for the negro was that it gave him the right to work for himself, but did not include the right to vote. He believed that this is a "white man's Government" and must remain such. He insisted that the question of negro suffrage rested solely with the people of the Southern States.[1370]

Congress was divided; a few members held with Senator Sumner that the Southern States had committed political suicide, and that the Government should proceed to deal with them as conquered territory. Thaddeus Stevens went further still and proposed to confiscate the "estates of rebels" worth more than $10,000, to give forty acres of land to each "freedman," and to use the remainder in paying off the national war debt.[1371] But the great majority of Congress held that the States still existed as States, and that the Constitution, though suspended, was still in force in that section. They insisted, however, that Congress, and Congress only, should decide on the readmission of the seceded States to their political rights. This view was confirmed later (1868) by a decision of the Supreme Court (*Texas vs. White*).[1372]

Johnson had none of Lincoln's tact; he stood up stubbornly in defence of his theory. Congress was equally determined; the result was a prolonged battle between the Executive and Legislative power. In that battle Secretary Seward stood firmly by the President.

513. **The grand review; disbanding the army; the war debt; condition of the South.** — The struggle between the Executive and Congress over reconstruction did not begin at once. The close of the war called for a grand military review at Washington. The parade of even a part of the Union armies occupied two entire days (May 23, 24, 1865). On the first day the "Army of the Potomac," with General Meade at the head, marched from the national capitol down Pennsylvania Avenue to the "White House." The following day General Sherman at the head of the "Army of the West" passed over the same ground. These men were no "holiday troops," but a great body of war-worn veterans, "who had not slept under a roof for years." They bore the shot-torn banners which they had carried on a hundred hard-fought fields. On those fields they had left dead comrades, far more numerous than the throngs who now joined with them in celebrating the final victory of peace.

The muster-out of the Union forces — more than a million in number — had already begun. It continued at the rate of about 250,000 a month, until all but a comparatively small force of regular troops had been disbanded. At the same time the Government began to pay off the war debt, and before all the soldiers had been discharged the debt had been reduced $30,000,000. The European press predicted that men who had so long been accustomed to the use of arms would not return peacefully to their homes; but they went back as quietly as they came. The Confederates did the same; they, like the Union forces, had that American sense of self-respect which forbade disorder.

But the "men in blue" and the "men in gray" returned to widely different fields. The devastating hand of war had

hardly touched the North in a material sense. No invading armies had ravaged the loyal States. In that section, throughout the terrible contest, trade, commerce, agriculture, and manufacturing flourished, and thousands prospered and grew rich.

At the South everything was different. The followers of Lee and Johnston, "ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted," went back to find practically everything gone. Their money was worthless, their States bankrupt, their railroads and manufactories destroyed, their houses in ruins, their barns empty, their plantations stripped, their slaves set free.

But though the people of the South had little left but the land and their hands with which to work it, yet they did not despair. Alexander H. Stephens spoke for multitudes when he said: "We should accept the issues of the war and abide by them in good faith." "The whole United States is now our country, to be cherished and defended as such by all our hearts and all our arms." The speaker claimed "full protection" for the negroes, so that they should "stand equal before the law in the provision and enjoyment of all rights of person, liberty, and property."[1273]

Lee exhibited the same loyal purpose. He applied to the Government for pardon in order to encourage others to do likewise. When Johnston bade farewell to his men he urged them to devote all their energies "to discharge the duties of good and peaceful citizens."[1274] Out of this spirit and the life and labor it has inspired a "new South" has arisen, progressive, prosperous, patriotic.

514. Proclamations respecting the South; ratification of the XIIIth Amendment. — Before Congress met, the President issued a proclamation (1865) opening the Southern ports east of the Mississippi, and removing all restrictions on trade and intercourse. He next offered free and full pardon to all save the leaders in the "late rebellion," on the same general conditions as those offered by Lincoln (§ 511). President Johnson soon afterward declared the insurrection over in Ten-

nessee. The following spring (1866) he made the same declaration respecting all the Southern States except Texas. A few months later he proclaimed that peace and civil authority existed "throughout the whole of the United States of America."[1275]

When Congress met (1865) it omitted the names of the late Confederate States from its roll-call, and appointed a committee to inquire into their condition. The announcement was made by the Secretary of State that the XIIIth Amendment (§ 476) — the first constitutional amendment which had been adopted for sixty years — had been duly ratified (Appendix, p. xvii). It clinched and extended the Emancipation Proclamation so that it covered all the States (§ 476) and made the reëstablishment of slavery impossible.

515. Veto of the second Freedmen's Bureau Bill and of the Civil Rights Bill; the XIVth Amendment. — The original Freedmen's Bureau Act was about to expire by limitation (§ 511). Congress therefore (February 6, 1866) passed a bill renewing that act. It extended the powers of the commissioner and provided military protection for the "freedmen." President Johnson vetoed it. His grounds were: (1) that the bill was a war measure which was uncalled for in time of peace; (2) that it took land from former owners without due process of law, and gave it to the destitute "freedmen" and "refugees";* (3) finally, he objected that the bill was unconstitutional, because it had been passed by a Congress from which "all the people of eleven States" were excluded.[1276]

The veto killed the proposed act, but later (July 16, 1866) Congress passed a similar bill over a second veto.

Meanwhile the President bitterly denounced Congress in a public speech, and declared that two prominent members, whom he called by name, were laboring to destroy the Government.[1277] Congress retaliated by passing the Civil Rights Bill. This bill

* The Southern Union white men who took refuge with the Union armies were called "refugees"; many of them had lost everything.

gave the negro the full benefit of all laws for the security of person and property which are enjoyed by white citizens. It made the recently liberated slave the equal of his former master in the courts.

The President vetoed the bill, mainly on the ground that since many of the Southern States were still unrepresented in Congress, that body had no constitutional right to declare several millions of ignorant negroes citizens of the Republic. This stirred the temper of Congress, and both Houses united in promptly passing the bill over the veto. From this time the President and the majority in Congress were openly at war. Johnson broke more completely with the Republicans who had elected him than even Tyler did (§ 378) with the Whigs a quarter of a century earlier.

A few months later Congress enacted, by joint resolution, the XIVth Amendment to the Constitution (Appendix, p. xviii). This amendment did four things: (1) it confirmed the Civil Rights Act; (2) it reduced the basis of representation of any State which excluded the negro from the polls; (3) it declared that no prominent person who had been engaged in the rebellion should be eligible to election to Congress, should be a presidential elector, or should hold any civil or military office under the United States, or under any State, unless Congress removed such disability; (4) it declared that the validity of the Union war debt must not be questioned; and that neither the United States nor any State should pay any portion of the Confederate debt, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of the slaves. The President protested against submitting this amendment to the States for ratification until all the Southern States had been readmitted to Congress.

516. Contest between the President and Congress; readmission of Tennessee; negro suffrage in the District of Columbia; "swinging round the circle." — In the long contest which ensued between the President and Congress, each resolved to defeat and humiliate the other. Johnson henceforth

regularly vetoed every bill — eleven in all — which favored the Republican reconstruction policy; Congress, on the other hand, just as regularly "vetoed his veto."

Meanwhile Tennessee had adopted a State constitution which abolished slavery and all ordinances and laws of secession; repudiated the Confederate debt, and ratified the XIIIth and XIVth Amendments to the federal Constitution. Tennessee was therefore readmitted (July 24, 1866). It was the first seceded State which was fully restored to all its former rights and privileges as a member of the Union. The next winter (1866–1867) the remaining seceded States rejected the XIVth Amendment, and South Carolina enacted laws which seemed intended to reduce the freedmen to a state of subjection not far removed from slavery itself. Toward the close of 1866 Congress passed an act over the President's veto which granted suffrage to the negroes of the District of Columbia. They were the first freed slaves who obtained the ballot directly from the hands of the nation.*

Meanwhile the President had been making a Northern tour, or "swinging round the circle." He spoke in a number of the principal cities and made bitter attacks on Congress. He declared that it was not a true Congress since it did not represent all the States, that it was "trying to break up the Government," and that the Freedmen's Bureau was simply a swindle and a disguised form of slavery.[1278]

517. New proclamation of amnesty; action of Congress; admission of Nebraska; the Tenure of Office Act; the Military Reconstruction Act; readmission of States. — In the autumn of 1867 the President issued a proclamation of general amnesty, by which pardon was extended to a large class hitherto excepted.

When Congress met (1867) it adopted a series of retaliatory measures: (1) it made provision for an almost continuous

* The form of government of the District of Columbia has since been changed, and none of the inhabitants have the right of suffrage.

session; (2) it took from the President the power of issuing general proclamations of pardon; (3) it virtually deprived him of the command of the military forces of the United States, by requiring that all orders respecting them should pass through General Grant; (4) it set aside his power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*; (5) it admitted the State of Nebraska (1867), the thirty-seventh State, over the President's veto, and granted negro suffrage in the new State; (6) it passed the Tenure of Office Act over the Executive veto. The object of this act was to prevent the President from carrying out his threat of removing public officers who sided with Congress and opposed his reconstruction policy. It deprived the President of the right of removing such officers, even when they were members of his Cabinet, without the consent of the Senate.[1279]

Congress next proceeded to deal with the seceded States by passing the Military Reconstruction Bill (March 2, 1867). This bill provided that: 1. The ten "rebel States" should be divided into five military districts, each to be placed under the command of a general of the army appointed by the President. 2. Under the supervision of these military authorities, each State was to hold a convention to frame a State constitution. 3. Negroes were to have the right to vote for delegates to this convention and to act as delegates in it; but all prominent ex-Confederates were excluded. 4. If the constitution so framed was accepted by the duly qualified voters of the State and approved by Congress, the State might then be readmitted to representation, provided its Legislature had ratified the XIVth Amendment, which gave the "freedmen" full civil rights, repudiated the Confederate debt, acknowledged the validity of the Union war debt, and renounced all claim for emancipation of slaves (§ 515). This bill set aside the provisional governments which President Johnson had created, and put the whole work of reconstruction in the hands of Congress.

The President vetoed the bill, on the ground that its object was to coerce the people of the Southern States by military

force into adopting measures to which they were known to be opposed, and that such a measure was "in palpable conflict with the plainest provision of the Constitution." Congress at once passed the bill over the veto.[1280] The United States Supreme Court (*Texas vs. White, 1868*) virtually confirmed the constitutionality of this act, though it also declared in this case, and later (*Slaughter-House Cases, 1872*), that the power of the Southern States as States remained in all respects unimpaired.[1281]

Under this stringent Reconstruction Act, the six States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, and North and South Carolina were readmitted in 1868. Georgia ratified the XIVth Amendment in 1868, but was not fully and finally readmitted until 1870. Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia refused to accede to the conditions laid down by Congress, and held out until 1870, when they accepted them and were readmitted.*

518. Johnson removes Stanton; impeachment of the President. — Meanwhile the President, in disregard of the Tenure of Office Act (§ 517), which he considered unconstitutional, resolved to remove Secretary Stanton, with whom he had long been at swords' points. He accordingly (August 5, 1867) sent the Secretary this brief note: "Sir, — Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted." Mr. Stanton, in his almost equally brief reply, said: "Sir, — . . . I have the honor to say that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this department, constrain me not to resign the office of Secretary of War before the next meeting of Congress."[1282]

The President thereupon suspended the Secretary from office, but Congress promptly reinstated him. The President then ordered the Secretary to resign. Instead of doing so, Mr.

*Congress required that they should ratify the XVth Amendment, passed subsequently to the readmission of the first six reconstructed States.

Stanton sent the order to the House of Representatives. Thereupon that body resolved by a vote of 126 to 47 to impeach the President for "high crimes and misdemeanors." The offences with which he was charged were: (1) the removal of Secretary Stanton in direct violation of the Tenure of Office Act (§ 517); (2) commanding General Emory not to obey the law (§ 517) requiring all military orders to be issued through General Grant; (3) attempts to excite the resentment of the people against Congress, by declaring that it was not a true Congress (§ 516) and that the President was not bound by its laws.[1283]

The impeachment trial began the last of March (1868), before fifty-seven Senators, representing twenty-seven States; Chief-Justice Chase presided. The trial ended toward the last of May. Thirty-five Senators voted "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." A two-thirds vote was required to secure conviction; the President, therefore, escaped removal by the narrow margin of a single vote.[1284]

519. The presidential election (1868). — The campaign was fought on two questions: 1. Should the presidential or the congressional plan of reconstruction be adopted? 2. Should the national debt, in cases not specified on the face of the bonds,* be paid in coin or in "greenbacks"?

The Republicans adopted a platform which heartily endorsed the reconstruction policy of Congress; at the same time they commended the "spirit of magnanimity and forbearance shown by the recent secessionists," and asked for the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels as far as might be "consistent with the safety of the loyal people."

They resolved that the national honor required the payment of the national debt, "not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted."

* The Republicans held that the bonds should be paid in coin unless paper had been agreed upon; the Democrats that they should be paid in paper unless coin had been agreed upon.

They nominated General Grant for President, with Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for Vice-President.

The Democrats charged Congress with subjecting ten States, in time of peace, to "military despotism and negro supremacy." They condemned the Tenure of Office Act (§ 517) and the Reconstruction Act (§ 517) as "unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." They demanded "complete" amnesty for all past political offences and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

They resolved that, except in cases where coin was stipulated in the bond, the obligations of the Government "ought in right and justice to be paid in the lawful money of the United States."

They nominated Governor Horatio Seymour of New York for President, with General F. P. Blair of Missouri for Vice-President. Grant and Colfax were elected by 214 electoral votes, against 80 cast for Seymour. The popular vote stood 3,012,833 for Grant to 2,703,249 for Seymour.

The States of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas (§ 517) were excluded from taking part in the election. [1285]

520. Proclamation of general amnesty; the Atlantic telegraph; purchase of Alaska; China; Mexico; the XVth Amendment. — Notwithstanding the prohibition of Congress respecting proclamations of pardon (§ 517), the President issued on Christmas Day (1868) a final proclamation of amnesty, by which he granted a full and unconditional pardon "to every person who directly or indirectly participated in the late insurrection or rebellion." [1286]

Meanwhile Cyrus W. Field of New York had accomplished a remarkable work destined to have a lasting influence on both America and Europe. About ten years after Morse opened the first line of telegraph in the world (§ 386), Mr. Field organized a company to establish a line between England and the United States. In 1858 a cable was laid, and for a few weeks messages were sent over it; then it ceased to act. A large amount

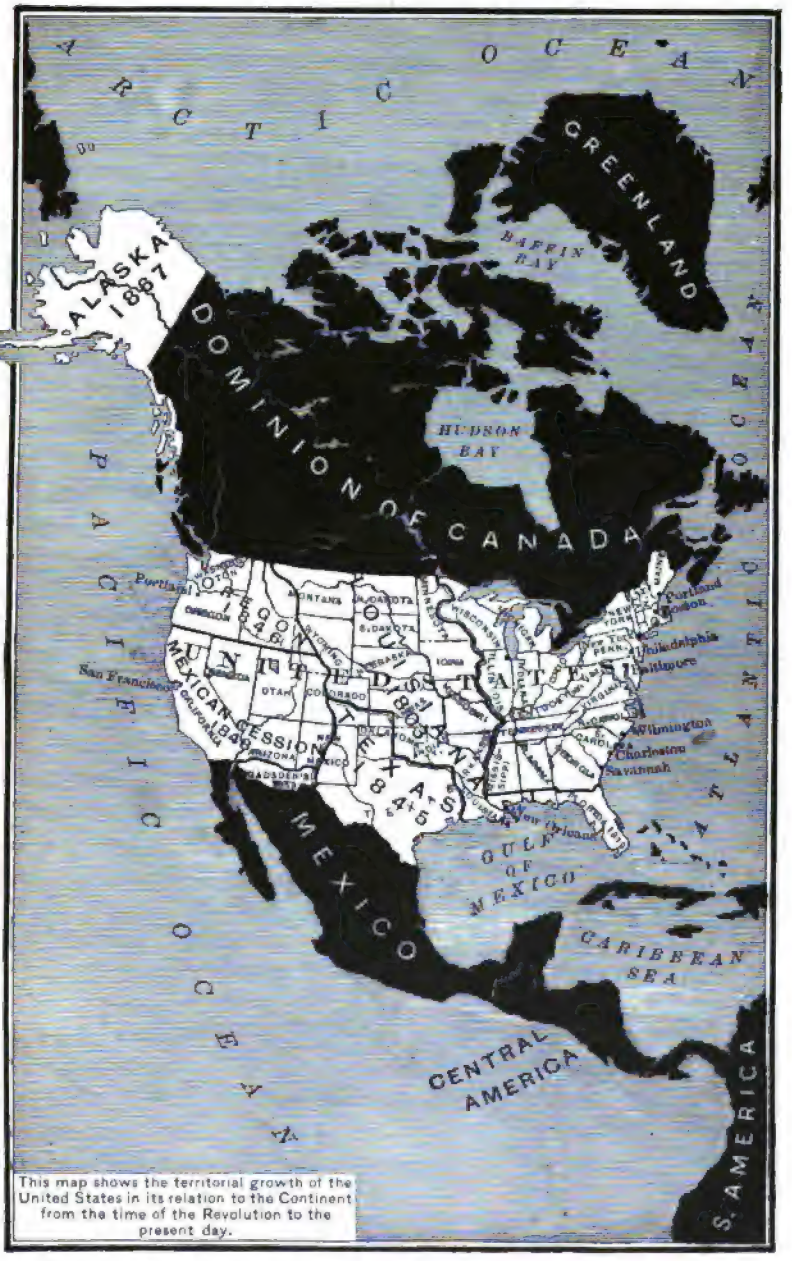
of money had been sunk in the enterprise, but the originator of it at once began the work anew, and millions more were spent. Finally, after thirteen years of labor, and after crossing the ocean more than forty times, Mr. Field succeeded (July 27, 1866) in laying a permanent Atlantic telegraph cable, which, as John Bright said, "moored the New World alongside the Old."

From a political, diplomatic, and commercial point of view, the success of the cable was of great significance. It brought the most highly civilized nations of the globe into electric touch with each other.

Such events change the whole current of history. When at the close of the War of 1812, the United States Commissioners signed the Treaty of Ghent, it took a fast-sailing sloop seven weeks to bring the intelligence to our shores; when, in the next generation, the Indian mutiny broke out, we did not hear of it for a fortnight, although the news was sent forthwith by a Cunard steamer; but when the Franco-Prussian War began, the Atlantic cable flashed the news to us a few minutes after the first gun was fired.

To-day London and New York are such near neighbors that a rise or fall in the English stock market or the passage of an important bill in Parliament is published in our papers as soon, or, it may be, even sooner than it is in London itself.

In the autumn of the following year (1867), the United States purchased Russian America for $7,200,000 in gold. The territory received the Indian name of Alaska, or "great country." During the Civil War, when Confederate cruisers were destroying Union vessels in the North Pacific, the Government felt the need of a foothold on the coast in that vicinity. The annexation of Alaska gave more than half a million of square miles of territory to the United States, and secured to us a country rich in fish and furs, and which gives promise of valuable mines. The purchase was ridiculed as "Seward's folly," — "a waste of money on rocks and ice, fit only for a



This map shows the territorial growth of the United States in its relation to the Continent from the time of the Revolution to the present day.

polar bear garden"; but it has since repaid its cost many times over.[1287]

The next year (1868) the Burlingame Treaty with China (§ 430) was ratified, and the Monroe Doctrine was applied to the French occupation of Mexico. During the Civil War Louis Napoleon had sent a French army to Mexico to overthrow the Republic and place the Austrian prince, Maximilian, on the throne. President Johnson notified Napoleon that the Monroe Doctrine (§ 331) must be respected, and sent troops to the Mexican frontier. This bayonet-pointed hint was sufficient; Napoleon withdrew his forces and left Maximilian to his fate.

One of the last acts of the Fortieth Congress was to propose (1869) the XVth Amendment to the Constitution, whereby the negro would receive the right to vote.

521. Summary. — Politically, the entire administration of President Johnson was occupied with the readmission of the Southern States, and with legislation for the freedmen. The President urged the immediate restoration of the late Confederate States; but Congress insisted on reorganization according to its own will. The conflict between the President and Congress led to the passage of the Freedmen's Bureau, Civil Rights, Tenure of Office, and Military Reconstruction Acts over the Executive veto.

The refusal of the President to obey the Tenure of Office Act resulted in an impeachment trial, in which he was acquitted.

Six Southern States were reconstructed and readmitted during Johnson's administration, and the entrance of Nebraska raised the whole number of States in the Union to thirty-seven.

We note, too, the successful laying of the Atlantic cable, the Burlingame Treaty with China, the purchase of Alaska, the withdrawal of the French from Mexico, the ratification of the XIIIth and XIVth Amendments, and the passage of the XVth.

ULYSSES S. GRANT (REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS, 1869–1877.

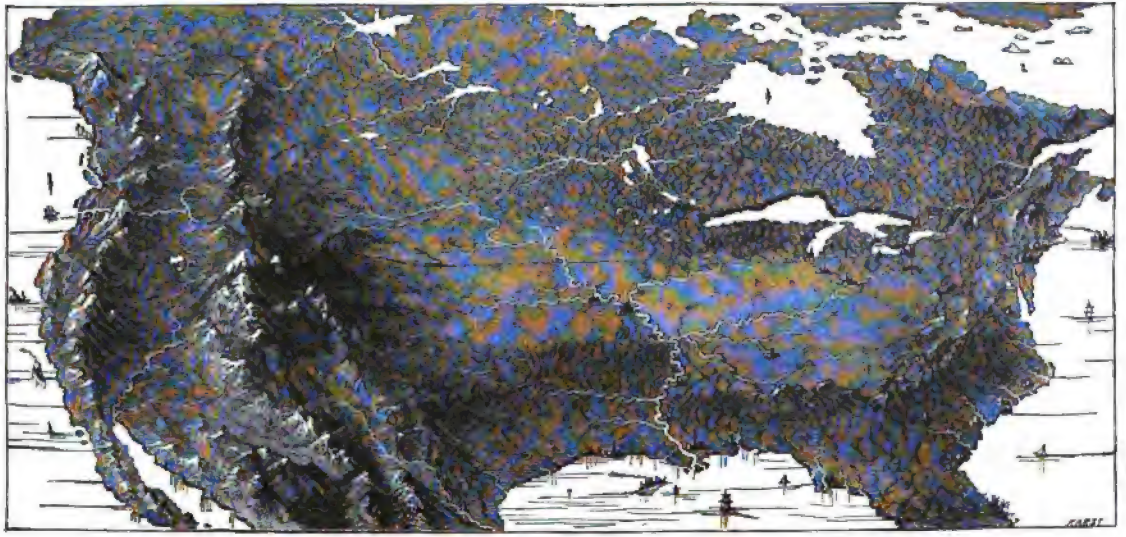
522. Grant's inaugural address; completion of the Pacific railroad. — In his inaugural address, General Grant (§ 519) laid especial emphasis on the necessity of extending suffrage to the "freedmen" and on the payment of the war debt in coin. "To protect the national honor," said he, "every dollar of government indebtedness should be paid in gold, unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. Let it be understood that no repudiator of one farthing of our public debt will be trusted in public place, and it will go far toward strengthening a credit which ought to be the best in the world."

In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the ratification of the XVth Amendment might soon place the ballot in the hands of the negro. [1288]

A little more than two months later, the last spike was driven (May 10, 1869) which completed the building of a railroad to the Pacific. This great undertaking was first brought to the attention of Congress in 1846 by Asa Whitney, a New York merchant who was engaged in the China trade.

The discovery of gold in California renewed the interest in the project, but nothing was done until a number of years later, when, through Whitney's efforts, Congress ordered a survey to be made. In 1860 both of the great political parties declared that a transcontinental railroad was "imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country." The outbreak of the Civil War soon gave unmistakable emphasis to the demand for joining the East and the Far West in closer political, commercial, and military union.

While the war was in progress, the national Government (1862–1864) offered to give to any company 13,000 acres of land and a loan of $25,000 for every mile of the proposed road which they should build and equip with a line of telegraph. Two companies accepted the offer. The "Central Pacific Company" began work (1865) at the San Francisco



RELIEF MAP OF THE UNITED STATES (AND PART OF BRITISH AMERICA)
SHOWING THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD.

end, and the "Union Pacific" at Omaha. While the "Central Pacific" was climbing the Sierras on its way eastward, the "Union Pacific" was rapidly pushing its way westward across the plains of Nebraska. Five years later, the engines met at Promontory Point, near Ogden, Utah. There the last rail was laid. The next day (May 11, 1869) a through train from New York — the first that ever crossed from ocean to ocean — passed Promontory Point on its way to San Francisco. That meant that steam and electricity had conquered three thousand miles of space, and that the Republic at last held the whole breadth of the continent with an iron grasp.

Commercially, the Pacific road put the Eastern States in quick communication with China and the Indies, so that cargoes of teas, silks, and spices shipped from Asia could be delivered in New York in a month's time.

Politically, the road had a most important influence. Before it was built the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts seemed so far distant from each other that many believed it doubtful if they could be held together under the same central Government. But the completion of the road changed all that, for a member of Congress from California could leave the Golden Gate with the certainty that in less than a week he would be in his seat at the national capitol.

The road was of equal importance from a military point of view. In case of need, the Far West could call on the East for help, and a corps of United States troops could be speedily transported from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific.

Nor was this all. In piercing the heart of the continent the railroad opened up a great central region for settlement. Between the tier of States bordering on the west banks of the Mississippi and the States of the Pacific slope there was a vast half-explored wilderness, which, with few exceptions, the Indian and the buffalo shared between them. Here was a broad field inviting immigration. General Grant says that when the Civil

War came to an end, great numbers of young men who had fought in the Union armies went West. The Pacific road * helped that movement forward as nothing else could, and aided in planting bodies of settlers, who became the connecting link in population between the remote East and the remote West.[1289]

523. Reconstruction completed; the negro in Congress. — When Congress met it completed (1869–1870) the work of reconstruction by removing the greater part of the remainder of the legal and political disabilities which had been imposed upon the Southern whites; it then readmitted the remaining four (§ 517) seceded States.

The Secretary of State (1870) announced that the XVth Amendment (§ 520) had been duly ratified and was henceforth in force. This finished the constitutional work of reconstruction. The first of those amendments (§ 476) declared the negro free forever; the second made him a citizen; the third made him a voter. He now had every right, every privilege, every opportunity which the law gives the white man, — in the courts and at the ballot box he stood on an equality with his old master; henceforth if he failed to advance, the fault would be his own.

The same year that the XVth Amendment was ratified (1870), the "freedmen" entered Congress. H. B. Revels, a negro from Mississippi, took the seat in the Senate which Jefferson Davis had vacated less than ten years before. South Carolina sent Joseph H. Rainey, the son of slave parents who

* In 1864 the "Credit Mobilier" — a Pennsylvania company deriving its name from a French financial company formed to promote industrial enterprises — undertook the construction of a part of the Pacific railroad. In the presidential campaign of 1872, the Vice-President, the Vice-President elect, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Speaker of the House, and a number of members of Congress were charged with selling their political influence in favor of the road, in return for stocks furnished them by the Credit Mobilier Company. Congress ordered the charge to be investigated; two Representatives were censured, and there the matter dropped.

had worked in the rice swamps, as a representative from that State. From that time for a period of nearly twenty years, every Congress had from four to six negro members.[1290]

524. The "Carpet-Baggers." — At the close of the war many Northern men went South. Some of them settled there as cotton-planters, and did everything in their power to aid the work of reconstruction in the best interests of all concerned. Others went simply to get political place and plunder. It was but natural that the Southern people should regard the newcomers with suspicion. They lumped good and bad together under the general name of "Carpet-Baggers," — a synonym for greedy and unscrupulous adventurers. The name sometimes did great injustice to worthy men; but in a majority of cases it truthfully described those to whom it was applied.

But however much the former slave-holding aristocracy hated the "Carpet-Bagger," they hated the "Scalawag" still more. The "Scalawag" was a renegade Southerner who joined hands with the political "Carpet-Bagger" in the scramble for spoils. By themselves they probably could not have done much harm; but using the negro voter as their tool, they did an enormous amount of mischief, from which the South has not yet fully recovered.

Congress gave the "freedmen" the ballot in order that they might protect themselves. The number of the colored people, taken as a whole, was only one-fifth less than that of the whites, and in three States it exceeded it. The former slave fully realized his power. "Now," said he, "the bottom rail is on the top, and we 're going to keep it there." [1291]

For a number of years the "Carpet-Bagger," the "Scalawag," and the negro ruled supreme at the polls and in the legislatures.[1292] They pillaged the prostrate States which lay helpless at their feet until they had rolled up debts[1293] aggregating nearly $300,000,000.* All things considered, perhaps

* The debts imposed on the reconstructed States were as follows: Alabama, $52,761,917; Arkansas, $19,398,000; Florida, $15,797,587; Georgia,

South Carolina suffered most from this "carnival of crime and corruption"; but eight other States were in the same pitiful case. Judge Black of Louisiana felt moved to declare that a "conflagration sweeping over all the State from one end to the other, and destroying every building and every article of personal property, would have been a visitation of mercy in comparison with the curse of such a government." [1294]

525. The "Ku Klux Klan"; the Force Act; end of "Carpet-Bag" government. — This state of things roused the spirit of retaliation and gave rise to the "Ku Klux Klan." It was a secret, oath-bound organization, formed especially to intimidate the negro and prevent his voting or getting office. At first the "Ku Klux" confined themselves mainly to threats, but later they resorted to violence. Bands of masked men broke into negro cabins at midnight, dragged the occupants from their beds, and flogged them without mercy. In some cases the "Ku Klux" pushed matters to the farthest extreme, and deliberately maimed or murdered their victims. Eventually, the organization became a gang of marauders and robbers, who preyed on white and black alike. [1295]

President Grant in a special message to Congress (1871) called the attention of that body to the fact that the "Ku Klux" not only rendered life and property unsafe, but that they interfered with the carrying of the mails and the collection of the revenue. Believing the emergency demanded an "ironclad" measure, Congress passed (April 20, 1871) the so-called "Force Act." * The three chief features of this act were: (1) it empowered the federal courts to severely punish all attempts to deter any citizen, white or black, from voting or holding office; (2) in case of need it authorized the President

$42,560,500; Louisiana, $40,021,734; North Carolina, $34,887,464; South Carolina, $22,480,516; Texas, $14,930,000; Virginia, $47,090,866.

* Congress passed the first Enforcement Act on May 31, 1870; see McPherson's "History of Reconstruction," p. 546, and "Political Hand-Book for 1870–1892," p. 3. The second act (1871) was much more stringent in its character.

to employ military force to suppress disorder and to protect the polls; (3) it temporarily suspended the operation of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Under this law many arrests were made, the "Ku Klux Klan" was broken up, and order was established. The following year (1872) Congress restored full civil rights to all persons at the South, with the exception of a few hundred who had made themselves especially conspicuous as leaders in the war of secession. The whites now gradually obtained the political control of the reconstructed States, and the reign of the "Carpet-Bagger," the "Scalawag," and the negro came to an end.

526. The "Knights of Labor"; establishment of the Weather Bureau; San Domingo; the Treaty of Washington. — On Thanksgiving Day, 1869, the first attempt in this country was made to organize all branches of manual labor on a permanent basis. Under the leadership of Uriah S. Stephens of Philadelphia, seven clothing-cutters met in that city and organized the secret society of the "Five Stars," or the "Knights of Labor." They later (1878) adopted a platform, denouncing "the alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of money and corporations under the present industrial and political systems." They stated their object to be "to secure to the workers of society the fullest enjoyment of the wealth they create." A few years later (1881) the oath-bound obligation of secrecy was abolished.

The "American Federation of Labor" was organized in 1881 for purposes similar to those of the "Knights of Labor." The "American Railway Union," organized in 1893, confines its membership to men employed on railroads of the United States. The total number of persons enrolled in these three powerful organizations has been estimated at about 800,000.

The various trades unions, some of which are connected with the first two organizations, claim a membership of about 600,000. These societies, though professedly non-political,

have exercised a marked influence on State and national legislation with respect to factory laws, hours of labor, and industrial arbitration; and they have probably helped to shape the platforms issued of late years by the Labor Parties. [1296]

In 1870 Congress, acting on a suggestion made many years earlier, established a Weather Bureau at Washington for the purpose of predicting the probable course of the weather throughout the country a day or more in advance. The Bureau has done service of great value to mariners and farmers; and, directly or indirectly, has been the means of saving much life and property from destruction by storms and floods.

Near the close of this year (1870), a treaty was concluded with San Domingo for the annexation of that negro Republic to the United States. President Grant strongly favored the measure on the ground that the possession of the island would secure a very valuable coaling station for the vessels of our navy. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty, and the President reluctantly abandoned the annexation project.

The following year (May 8, 1871), the Treaty of Washington was concluded with Great Britain. It provided for: (1) the settlement by arbitration of certain questions relating to the boundary line between Washington Territory and British America; (2) the settlement of the "Alabama" claims — or damages demanded by citizens of the United States for destruction of property by the "Alabama" and other Confederate cruisers equipped in England (§ 454); (3) the settlement of the claims of Great Britain for the alleged interference by our fishermen with those of Canada.

The boundary question was referred to the Emperor of Germany, and his decision was duly accepted. The "Alabama" claims were referred to a board of five arbitrators,* who met in

*The Geneva tribunal met December 15, 1871. Charles Francis Adams, Esq., represented the United States, and Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn represented England; the remaining three members of the tribunal were appointed by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Republic, and the Emperor of Brazil.

Geneva, Switzerland. After a lengthy session, they decreed (1871) that Great Britain should pay the United States $15,500,000 in gold, which was accordingly done.

A board of commissioners meeting in Halifax (1877) decided the fisheries dispute by decreeing that we should pay Great Britain $5,500,000 in gold and remit duties amounting to $4,200,000 more.[1297]

This treaty of arbitration established a precedent for disposing of similar international questions in the future without the costly and cruel aid of bayonet and cannon.

527. The presidential election (1872). — The persistent attempt to annex San Domingo (§ 526) created a strong opposition to the administration, and alienated Chase, Sumner,* Seward, and Greeley, with other influential members of the Republican Party.[1298] They not only refused to support General Grant for a second term, but charged his administration with having directly or indirectly encouraged the rise of political "bosses," who secured offices for their favorites, to the exclusion of better men. Furthermore, many Republicans were dissatisfied with the working of the Force Act (§ 525). They questioned whether it did not go "beyond constitutional limits," and doubted if it helped forward the cause of good government.[1299]

This opposition to what Sumner called "Grantism" caused a split in the party, and led to the formation of an organization which took the name of "Liberal Republicans." They adopted a platform severely condemning the administration, and calling for the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion. They nominated Horace Greeley for President, with B. Gratz Brown of Missouri (the Labor Reform candidate) for Vice-President.

* Senator Sumner made a noted speech in the Senate (May 31, 1872) on "Republicanism vs. Grantism," in which he concentrated "in one massive broadside all that could be suggested" against Grant. See Sumner's Works, XV. 82–171, and Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress," II. 533.

The Democrats adopted the Liberal Republican platform and candidates; but some of the party "bolted" and, under the name of "Straight-out Democrats," nominated Charles O'Conor. He, however, declined to accept the nomination.

The regular Republicans reaffirmed the principles of the party, heartily endorsed the work of the administration, and renominated General Grant for President, with Henry Wilson of Massachusetts for Vice-President.

The Prohibitionists and the Labor Reformers now made their first appearance as national political parties; both have since continued in the field, though neither have yet obtained electoral votes for their respective candidates. The Prohibitionists, in addition to the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor, adopted woman suffrage as one of the planks in their platform.*

The political movements and combinations of recent years make the original platform of the Labor Party of much interest. It demanded: (1) that the federal Government should issue all money and that banks of issue should be abolished; (2) that no public land should be sold to any but actual settlers; (3) that the immigration of Chinese laborers should be stopped; (4) that the Government should adopt an eight-hour day for its employés; (5) that the civil service should be removed from all partisan influences; (6) that the Government should regulate the charges made by railroads and telegraph lines; (7) that the occupancy of the presidential chair should be limited to a single term.†

* In 1896 a number of Prohibitionists calling themselves "Broad Gaugers," or workers for humanity, endeavored to secure the insertion of a "free-silver" plank in the platform adopted by the National Convention. The plank was rejected; the "Broad Gaugers" then seceded and formed an independent organization, under the name of the National Party, advocating prohibition, woman suffrage, and the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. See Stanwood's "Presidential Elections" (revised edition), Appendix, pp. 494–497.

† The demands made under Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6 have since been obtained either wholly or in part.

At the election, the popular vote stood 3,597,132 for Grant to 2,834,125 for Greeley. Mr. Greeley died before the presidential electors met. Grant received 286 electoral votes, and 63 votes were given for T. A. Hendricks, Gratz Brown, and other candidates. Grant was therefore reëlected by an overwhelming majority.[1300]

528. The New Coinage Act; the Salary Act; postal-cards. — When Congress met it passed a Coinage Act (February 7, 1873) which had been debated on and off for between one and two years. The measure did not then excite any particular interest, though it has since been denounced as "the Crime of 1873."[1301] At that time neither gold nor silver was in circulation. The Government had not resumed specie payment, and "greenbacks," or national bank notes, were in use throughout the country. Very few silver dollar pieces had been coined since the mint was established. In a period of eighty years the average number issued was only about $100,000 a year. These silver dollars had disappeared and none had been seen for more than a quarter of a century.*

*The act of 1792 established a double standard with free coinage of gold and silver in the ratio of 1 to 15 (§ 255). This act undervalued gold, which was therefore exported and ceased to circulate. The act of 1834 was passed to remedy this by changing the ratio to 1 to 16 and reducing the fineness of the gold dollar from 25.8 grains to 23.2 grains. The act of 1834 undervalued silver, as that of 1792 had done in the case of gold; the result was, that silver was withdrawn from circulation and exported to Europe. The act of 1837 made the fineness of gold and silver coins uniform, but silver still continued to be exported. The act of 1853 reduced the weight of silver coins of a denomination less than one dollar and provided that they should be legal-tender to the amount of $5.00 only — under the previous acts they had been full legal-tender. Up to February 12, 1873, the entire number of silver dollar pieces coined was only $8,031,238; after 1853 that coin practically disappeared from circulation. The act of February 12, 1873, recognized this fact by omitting the silver dollar from the list of coins. It provided that the unit of value should be the gold dollar of the standard weight of 25.8 grains; it furthermore provided for the coinage of a silver "trade dollar" of 420 grains (for trade with China) and of fractional silver coins which were made legal-tender for an amount not

In the Currency Act, Congress now dropped the standard silver dollar — "the dollar of our fathers" — from the list. The act provided for the coinage of gold, and of fractional silver pieces. It also ordered the coinage of a special "trade dollar," much heavier than the former standard silver dollar. This new piece was issued in order to facilitate trade with China. It was used as legal-tender for a short time until an act forbade it; a few years later (1878) the issue of this special coin was discontinued.

In addition to this legislation respecting coinage, Congress passed another noted financial measure (1873), which received the nickname of the "salary grab." The act raised the President's salary from $25,000 to $50,000, where it has since remained. It also increased the salaries of the judges of the federal courts and of the members of Congress, including that of the Congress which passed it. Popular indignation was aroused, and Congress was compelled to repeal so much of the act as related to the increase of members' salaries.

The same year (1873), Congress passed a bill which received the hearty approval of the whole country. It ordered the issue of the first one-cent postal-cards (§ 404).

529. Political "rings"; the panic of 1873; the "Farmer's Alliance"; the "Inflation Bill" vs. Resumption. — One of the evil results of the Civil War was the speculative spirit it encouraged (§ 509). The country was full of paper money which was subject to great fluctuations. The actual value of the "greenback" was at the best not quite eighty-nine cents in coin. Speculation bred extravagance and political corruption. A "ring" of politicians, under the leadership of

exceeding $5.00. By oversight the use of the "trade dollar" as legal-tender was not prohibited. In 1876 this oversight was rectified. See William C. Hunt's "Notes on the Money of the United States" (compiled from the report of the Director of the Mint for Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, No. 2, January, 1896, pp. 181–196); and compare John Sherman's "Recollections," I. 464 *et seq.*

"Boss Tweed," managed to get possession of the government of New York City and (1865–1871) robbed the tax-payers of many millions. Tweed and his gang of fellow-plunderers were finally overthrown (1871) through the efforts of Samuel J. Tilden and other prominent citizens.

The Erie Ring got possession of the Erie Railroad, and the Whiskey Ring defrauded the Government of an immense amount of revenue. Many Government officials were indicted (1875) for their connection with this gigantic liquor swindle.

Later (1876), the Secretary of War was charged with selling sutlerships in the army; he escaped impeachment by resigning his office. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts denounced the corruption of the times in a powerful speech (May 6, 1876), in which he declared that these frauds, with others that had been exposed, were eating the heart out of the Republic and turning our national triumph to "bitterness and shame." [1902]

But if the political results of speculation were disastrous, so, too, were the commercial results. Cheap money encouraged overproduction in manufactures, overtrading with foreign countries, and led to the building of many thousands of miles of railroads in excess of the actual demand, and through sections of the country where the population was insufficient to support them. In addition to losses through unwise investments, the great fires of Chicago (1871) and of Boston (1872) wiped out not less than $200,000,000 of property and ruined many business men and insurance companies.

In the autumn of 1873 a prominent banking-house in New York, which was largely interested in the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, suspended payment. This failure was speedily followed by the collapse of another important house in the same city, and the panic of "Black Friday" at the Stock Exchange. The panic spread from the great money center of the country to the country at large. Credit was refused, many savings-banks were forced to close their doors, large corporations were driven into bankruptcy, and mills and

factories shut down, throwing thousands out of work. The crisis was soon reached and passed, but it was followed by a very long period of depression.[1303]

Meanwhile a secret association had been formed at Washington (1867), which spread rapidly, especially in the Western States. The new order took the name of the "Farmer's Alliance," or "Patrons of Industry." Later, the members were commonly known as "Grangers." Their chief object was to secure lower freight rates for farm produce. The panic of 1873 stimulated the growth of the "Grangers," and in some States they obtained the passage of legislative measures regulating the charges for grain transportation and storage.* The order exercised a strong political influence which helped to secure the Interstate Commerce Act (1887), and which was one of the causes favoring the organization (1892) of the People's Party, or "Populists."[1304]

In the spring following the panic of 1873, Congress passed a measure commonly known as the "Inflation Bill." The purpose of the bill was to relieve the financial strain by issuing $100,000,000 more "greenbacks" (§ 455). The President vetoed it, on the ground that the country had an abundance of paper currency and that Congress had pledged (1869) the faith of the United States to resume specie payment at the earliest practicable moment.[1305]

530. The Centennial Exhibition; admission of Colorado. — In the spring of 1876 a national exhibition, held under the auspices of the Government, was opened at Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Its object was to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. All the leading nations of the world took part in the exhibition, which was visited by nearly ten millions of persons. The substitution of machine power for hand labor was the most marked

* The United States Supreme Court decided (1876) six cases in favor of the "Grangers," thereby sustaining the constitutionality of the legislation they had obtained.

feature of the great fair. It showed that a hundred years had completely revolutionized manufacturing, transportation, and means of communication. Two of the most remarkable novelties exhibited were the recently invented electric light and the Bell telephone, which was then generally regarded as an ingenious and amusing toy of no practical value.

The centennial year was further marked by the admission of Colorado, the thirty-eighth State. It represented the "New West." Its entrance emphasized the territorial growth of the nation, which began its career a century before with but thirteen States stretched along the Atlantic seaboard, and with no claim to a single acre of the vast wilderness extending from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

531. The "Greenback" Party; the disputed presidential election of 1876; Indian wars. — The distress caused by the long-continued financial depression (§ 529) induced the formation of a new party, calling itself the "Independent," or "Greenback," Party. It demanded an increase of the paper currency issued by the Government, and which the United States Supreme Court (*Juilliard vs. Greenman*) later decided (1884) to be legal-tender for the payment of all debts. Eventually (1884) the Greenback Party strongly advocated the issue of General B. F. Butler's "fiat money."* This party developed its greatest strength in the Western States.

A part of the Republicans urged the renomination of General Grant for a third term; but the House of Representatives passed a resolution by 234 to 18 declaring that such a nomination would be "unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." [1306]

* **Fiat Money.** — Paper money issued by decree or "fiat" of the national Government, and not redeemable in coin. In 1884 the Greenback Party and the Anti-Monopolist Party both nominated General Butler for President. Speaking of "greenbacks," he said: "I desire that the dollar so issued shall never be redeemed." He added that he saw no more reason why such a paper dollar should be redeemed, than why a yardstick or a quart measure should be redeemed. "Butler's Book," p. 953.

The Republican Convention nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President, and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice-President.

The Democrats nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York — a "hard money" man who had labored successfully to destroy the robber gang led by the infamous "Boss Tweed" (§ 529). For Vice-President they nominated Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana.

The South dreaded negro supremacy, and cast a "solid vote" for Tilden. The election was so close that each party claimed success and charged the other with gross fraud. In order to settle the dispute, which was fast growing serious, Congress appointed a commission composed of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Judges of the Supreme Court. The commission was in session for more than a month, during which time the whole country was kept in a state of anxiety and alarm. The commissioners finally decided (March 2, 1877), two days before Inauguration Day, by a vote of eight to seven, that the certificates of returns showed that Hayes had received 185 electoral votes to 184 cast for Tilden.[1507] (The popular vote stood 4,033,950 for Hayes to 4,284,885 for Tilden.) Governor Hayes was therefore declared President by a majority of one.

In the course of Grant's presidency the Modoc Indians of California began hostilities (1872), but were speedily overcome. Three years later (1876) the Sioux Indians led by "Sitting Bull" massacred the gallant General Custer and his entire force near the Black Hills of Dakota Territory. General Miles, the present commander of the Army of the United States, forced the savages to surrender, but "he adds his weighty testimony to that of leading military men who have gone before him, in saying that he has never known an Indian war in which the white man was not the aggressor."

532. **Summary.** — The chief points in Grant's administration were: (1) the completion of the first transcontinental

railroad; (2) the admission to Congress of representatives from all the seceded States; (3) the passage of the "Force Act"; (4) the settlement by arbitration of the "Alabama" claims, the fisheries dispute, and the northwest boundary question; (5) the organization of the "Knights of Labor" and the "Grangers"; (6) the demonetization of silver; (7) the financial and business panic of 1873; (8) the opening of the Centennial Exhibition and the admission of Colorado; (9) the rise of the "Greenback" Party, and the Hayes-Tilden disputed election.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (REPUBLICAN), ONE TERM, 1877-1881.

533. **Inaugural address; civil-service reform; withdrawal of troops from the South.** — In his inaugural address President Hayes (§ 531) declared that he should endeavor to wipe out the "color line" in politics and "the distinction between North and South," to the end that we might have "a united country."

There had long been an earnest demand for reform in the civil service. The leader in that movement was George W. Curtis. But Lincoln saw its necessity before Curtis began his great work. A few days after the fall of Richmond, as he was standing with a friend, Lincoln pointed to the crowd of office-seekers besieging his door, and said: "Look at that! Now we have conquered the rebellion; but here you see something that may become more dangerous to this Republic than the rebellion itself." [1308]

Grant was conscious of the same danger and made an unsuccessful effort to break up the "spoils system" (§ 349), but he could not drive the wedge deep enough.*

* In 1865 Mr. Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island introduced the first bill in Congress for the reform of the civil service. The bill met with ridicule and overwhelming defeat; but in 1871 a bill was passed giving the President power to establish rules for the admission of applicants for places in the civil service. President Grant appointed George W. Curtis of New

President Hayes pledged himself to labor for a "thorough" reform in the civil service; but although both of the great political parties had urged it in their platforms, nothing practical was done. Many men were indifferent; others believed with Jackson (§ 350) that frequent rotation in office was best for the interests of all; while the "machine politicians," in and out of Congress, naturally fought with all their might against any change which would deprive them of their influence and of the votes and profits it brought them.

On another important point the President met with better success. He believed that the time had come for the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, and that the people of the reconstructed States must be trusted to manage their own affairs. Both South Carolina and Louisiana had dual and rival Governors and Legislatures, one elected by the Republicans, the other by the Democrats. After a conference with the Governors of those States, President Hayes withdrew (1877) the troops, and the Democrats came peaceably into power.

534. Great railway strike. — In the summer of 1877 a formidable strike broke out on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and spread rapidly over a large part of the Northern States. The movement was a protest against reduction of wages. At one time more than 100,000 men were out. They held control of from 6000 to 7000 miles of road. Serious riots took place, especially at Pittsburg. Machine shops, freight houses, and freight cars were burned, and many people killed and wounded. The Governors of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, and Maryland appealed to the President for help. He sent detachments of troops, who happily succeeded in restor-

York chief of a commission for that purpose. The object sought was to do away with the system which gave positions simply as rewards for party services, and to substitute competitive examinations which would secure an equal opportunity for all candidates. In 1873 Congress refused to make further appropriations for continuing the work of the commission, and the following year the President was obliged to abandon it.

ing order without resort to force. The strike was unsuccessful; its total cost in loss of wages and dividends, in increased taxes to cover damages, and in interruption to business was estimated [1309] at between $80,000,000 and $100,000,000.

535. The Bland-Allison Silver Act; resumption of specie payment. — By the Public Credit Act (1869) "the faith of the United States was solemnly pledged to the payment in coin, or its equivalent," of all Government bonds, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of such obligations provided that the same might be paid in paper currency.[1310] Some persons regarded this law as unjust since it might compel the Government to pay specie in return for loans it had received in depreciated "greenbacks"; but others took the ground that since it had always been understood that the Government would redeem the "greenbacks" in coin, the holders of bonds were entitled to receive specie payment.

When the "Public Credit Act" (1869) was passed, "coin" meant either gold or silver, but the act of 1873 dropped (§ 528) the silver dollar from the list of coins (§ 255); hence, as the law stood, all bonds calling for specie must be paid in gold.

A majority in Congress urged the restoration of the silver dollar as legal-tender; but a minority objected on the ground that the enormous output of silver from the Western mines had caused it to fall heavily in value. For this reason they argued that to revive the old standard silver dollar would be to issue "dishonest money."

Congress finally (February 15, 1878) passed the Bland-Allison Bill, which required the coinage of standard silver dollars at the rate of from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000 a month.

President Hayes vetoed the bill on the ground of the depreciated value of silver. He urged that it would be a grave breach of the public faith to pay the bondholders in silver coin worth less in the market than the coin received from them. He closed by saying: "If the country is to be benefited by a silver coinage, it can be done only by the issue of

silver dollars of full value * which will defraud no man." [1811] But Congress did not take the President's view; some members believed that if the Government made large purchases of silver the price of that metal would rise, and so bring the silver dollar to a parity with gold; others argued that the community demanded more money, and that the recoinage of silver could alone satisfy this demand. Others, again, asked for a "cheap dollar" on the ground that it would lessen the burden of taxation by enabling them to pay the interest and principal of the national debt in silver.[1812]

For these reasons Congress passed the bill over the President's veto on the same day it was received. Less than a twelvemonth later (January 1, 1879) the Government, having accumulated about $140,000,000 in gold, resumed specie payment, and all "greenbacks" presented at the Treasury were promptly redeemed in that metal. Up to that date more than $400,000,000 of the principal of the public debt (§ 508) had been cancelled; the payments since the close of the war (1865–1897) have averaged more than $2,500 for each hour of the entire time, and reach a total of nearly $1,000,000,000; this leaves the outstanding debt (1897) at $1,785,412,640.90. The effect of the resumption of specie payment was to greatly strengthen the credit of the Government, and enable it to borrow all the money it required at low rates of interest.

536. The presidential election (1880). — The presidential question and the question respecting the division of honors and offices had split the Republican Party into two factions.† One demanded the renomination of Grant for a third term, while

* The market value, by weight, of the standard silver dollar was then from 90 to 92 cents.

† One faction styled itself "Stalwarts," or Thorough-Going Republicans; they advocated the nomination of Grant, and dubbed the opposition "Half-Breeds," or Half-Republicans. The "Stalwarts" were under the leadership of Senator Conkling of New York, while Senator Blaine of Maine marshalled the "Half-Breeds." See Moore's "History of Congress," p. 470, and Andrews's "Last Quarter-Century," I. 327.

the other bitterly opposed it. The Republican National Convention adopted a platform demanding a tariff which should "favor American labor" and restrict Chinese immigration. They declared that now that slavery had been destroyed, Mormon polygamy must go. After a hard struggle the factions in convention compromised by nominating General Garfield of Ohio for President, and Chester A. Arthur of New York for Vice-President.*

The Democratic Convention demanded a tariff for revenue only. They nominated General W. S. Hancock for President, and W. H. English of Indiana for Vice-President. The electoral vote stood 214 for Garfield to 155 for Hancock. The popular vote gave Garfield 4,454,416 to 4,444,952 for Hancock.[1518]

537. The improvement of the Mississippi. — In 1874 Captain James B. Eads completed the great steel bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis, — "the finest specimen of metal-arch construction in the world." Captain Eads then laid before the Government plans for deepening the South Pass, or chief mouth of the Mississippi, which was blocked by a sand bar seriously obstructing navigation. Both the State of Louisiana and the United States had spent many millions in endeavoring to permanently deepen the channel of the river, but without effect.

Captain Eads's plans were accepted, and he began the construction of a system of jetties, or artificial banks. His object was to narrow the river, and thereby increase the force of the current so that it would not only deepen the channel, but carry the sediment out to sea. He completed his great work four years later (1879). It proved to be an entire success. The river, as he anticipated, deepened its own channel to a depth of thirty feet, so that large ocean steamers now have no difficulty in reaching New Orleans. This improvement has saved

* General Garfield ranged himself on the side of the "Half-Breeds," while Mr. Arthur was a prominent "Stalwart."

the expenditure of many millions for dredging, and has added enormously to the commerce of the chief port of the South.[1514]

Four years later the completion of the East River Suspension Bridge, connecting New York and Brooklyn (1883), was another triumph of American engineering skill.*

538. Summary. — The principal events of the Hayes administration were: (1) the withdrawal of federal troops from the South; (2) the great railway strike; (3) the passage of the Bland-Allison Silver Act over the President's veto; (4) the resumption of specie payment; (5) the improvement of the navigation of the lower Mississippi.

JAMES A. GARFIELD (REPUBLICAN), ONE TERM, 1881–1885.

539. Trying position of the President; his assassination. — The President (§ 536) was anxious to bring about a reconciliation between the opposing factions of the Republican Party, but at the same time he resolved to pursue an independent course and make nominations to office from either side, as he thought best. This course involved him in difficulty and made his position peculiarly trying. Among the disappointed office-seekers was Charles J. Guiteau, a political adventurer, — "half fool and half fanatic." Not being able to secure the appointment of consul-general to Paris, which he coveted, he resolved to murder the President. His avowed object was to throw the Executive power into the hands of Vice-President Arthur, who belonged to the faction opposed to that which chose Garfield as head of the Republic (§ 536). Guiteau shot the President (July 2, 1881);† when arrested he exulted in the act of assassination, and declared that the Almighty had in-

* This bridge was begun in 1869 by Mr. John A. Roebling of Trenton, N. J., the inventor of wire suspension bridges. The work was finished in 1883 by his son, Mr. W. A. Roebling.

† President Garfield lingered until autumn and then died (September 19, 1881).

spired him to commit the deed. He was tried for murder, found guilty, and hanged.[1315]

540. The Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act; the "Star Route" frauds. — The murder of the President gave an unmistakable emphasis to the demand for civil-service reform (§ 533). Senator Pendleton of Ohio introduced a bill (1882) to give "all citizens, duly qualified," "equal opportunities" to secure employment in the civil service of the United States. The bill received the hearty support of both the great political parties. It was promptly passed (January 16, 1883),[1316] and President Arthur at once appointed a Civil Service Commission to carry the law into effect. The new system of filling minor Government offices was put in operation at Washington, where many thousand clerks are employed in the different departments. It was gradually extended to all custom-houses and post-offices having upwards of fifty clerks. It was the beginning of the end of the spoils system (§ 349). Henceforth the rule was to be based on Napoleon's maxim: "No favoritism, but give the tools to those who know how to use them."

Meanwhile Congress set itself to investigate the "Star Route" frauds. The name "Star Route" was used to designate stage-lines for carrying the mails in parts of the country where they could not be carried by railroads or steamboats. The whole number of such routes was between nine and ten thousand. A number of mail contractors and Government officials formed a "ring." This "ring" got appropriations on false estimates and on fictitious pay-rolls, by means of which they robbed the Government — that is to say, the tax-payers of the country — of about $500,000 yearly. The "ring" was broken up, but unfortunately the swindlers who originated it managed to get off without punishment.[1317]

541. The Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act; the tariff; labor legislation. — For twenty years a law had existed forbidding polygamy in the Territories. The Mormons protested that

this law was a direct violation of that article of the Constitution which forbids Congress prohibiting the "free exercise of religion" (Appendix, p. xvi, I). But the United States Supreme Court (*Reynolds vs. U. S.*) decided (1878) that the act was constitutional.[1318] * In 1882 Senator Edmunds of Vermont brought in a bill which provided that polygamy in the Territories should be punished by fine and imprisonment, and, furthermore, that the person convicted should be deprived of the right to vote or to hold any office or place of public trust. The bill passed,[1319] and more than a thousand Mormons were convicted and sent to the penitentiary.

The year following (1883) the tariff was thoroughly revised for the first time since the war (§ 455). The succeeding year (1884) Congress established the National Bureau of Labor Statistics at Washington, for the purpose of collecting information which might be of use in the equitable adjustment of the relations of labor and capital, and which would help to promote the best interests of workingmen. The same Congress passed a bill (1884) prohibiting Chinese immigration for ten years, and a bill prohibiting the importation of any foreign laborers under contract, where their work would compete with American labor.[1320]

542. The presidential election (1884).—There was a strong reaction in both of the great parties against "machine politics" and professional politicians. The issue, so far as one existed, was between the Republican policy of protection and the Democratic demand for a simple revenue tariff.

The Republican Party nominated James G. Blaine, with John A. Logan of Illinois for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, with Thomas A. Hendricks of

* The court took the ground that while Congress had no power to interfere with religious belief as such, it had the same right to prohibit the members of a church from practicing polygamy that it had to forbid their offering up human sacrifices as part of their religious worship. See Carson's "History of the United States Supreme Court," pp. 498, 499.

Indiana for Vice-President. Many members of the Republican Party declared themselves strongly opposed to the action of the National Convention. These Independent Republicans were nicknamed "Mugwumps." * They cast their votes for the Democratic candidate in the belief that he would use his influence to extend civil-service reform (§ 540).

The electoral vote stood 219 for Cleveland to 182 for Blaine; the popular vote gave Cleveland 4,874,981 to 4,857,981 for Blaine.

543. The New Orleans Exposition. — The following December the Cotton Planters' Association opened (1884) a World's Fair in New Orleans, the largest cotton port in the United States. The exhibition was designed to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the shipment of cotton from this country to Europe. In 1784 a few bags of cotton, amounting in all to about one bale, were exported from Charleston to Liverpool.

Slavery and the invention of the cotton-gin (§ 259) gave an immense impetus to the production of cotton, and in 1860 the crop amounted to 5,000,000 bales. This made cotton the "king" of American staples. When slavery was overthrown many believed that the chief industry of the South was ruined; but under free labor the production of cotton increased enormously, and in 1884 8,000,000 bales were put into the market.

Side by side with this increase another most lucrative industry had grown up. Under slavery, the cotton seed was thrown aside, and every year thousands of tons were burned as useless. Free labor found by experiment that the seed could be made to furnish "food, fuel, oil, and fertilizer," which would sell for more than $20,000,000 annually.

The New Orleans Exhibition did a much-needed work in

* **Mugwump.** — An Indian word, occurring in Eliot's Indian Bible (1661), and meaning a leader, or chief. The Independent Republicans accepted the nickname as an honorable title.

calling attention to the national wealth and immense resources of the Southern States, and it helped to foster friendly political and social relations between those States and the North. Both sections stood on a common basis of labor; both recognized the fact that whatever contributed to the prosperity and progress of one could not fail to be of use to the other, and that however good independence might be, interdependence might be better still.

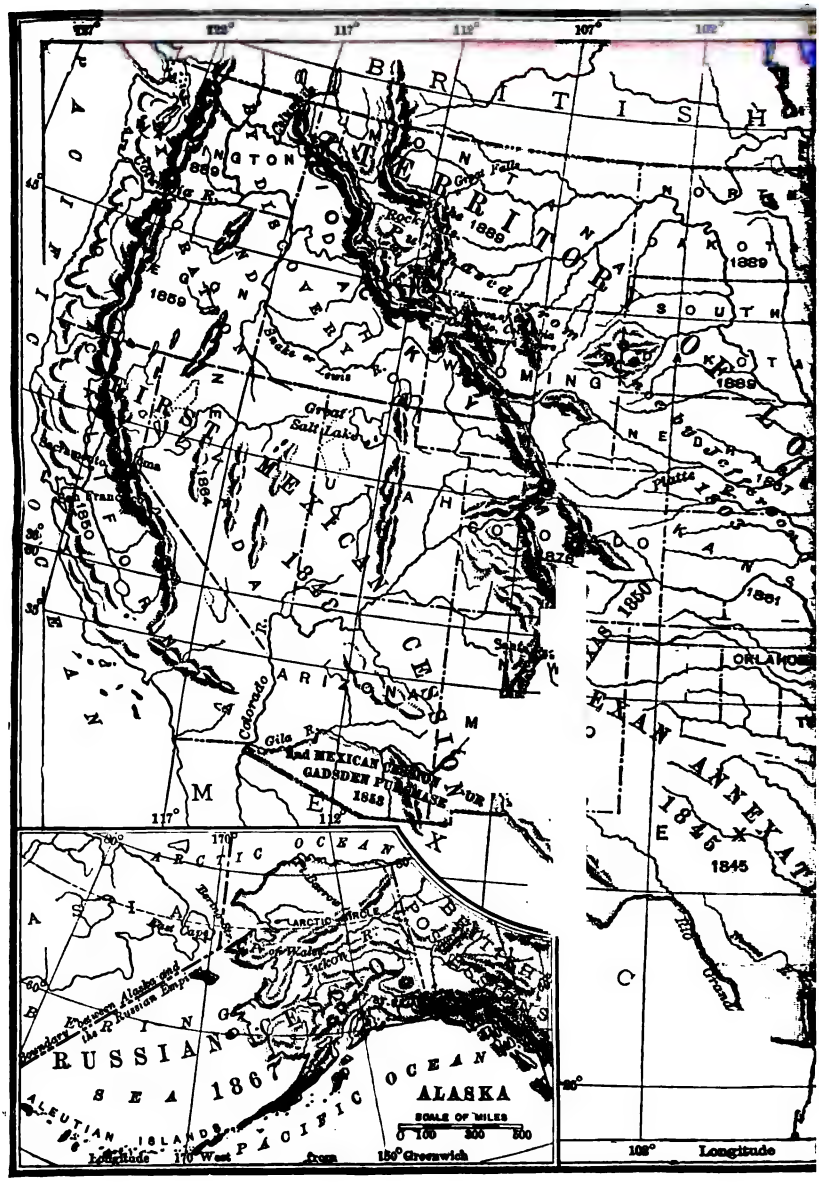
544. Summary. — The chief events of the administration were: (1) the assassination of the President and the succession of Vice-President Arthur; (2) the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act and its results; (3) the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act, followed by important labor legislation, and by the opening of the New Orleans Exposition.

GROVER CLEVELAND (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM, 1885-1889.

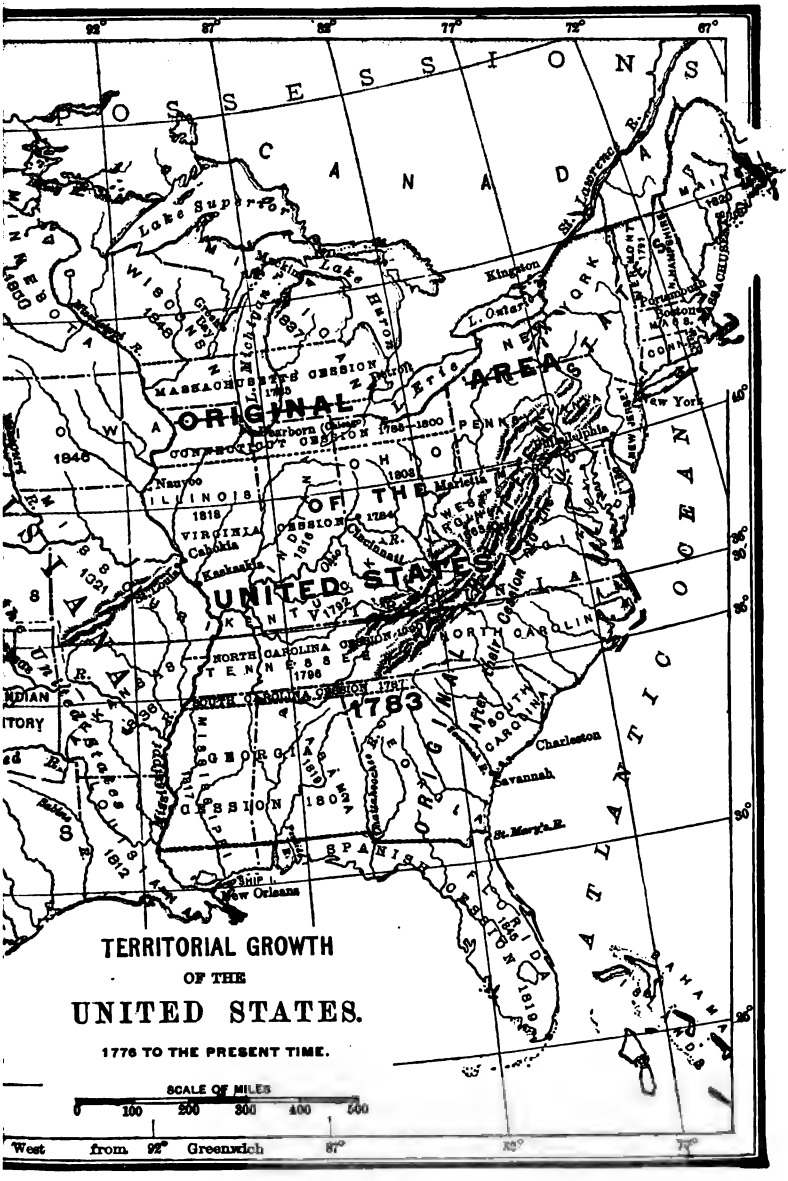
545. The inauguration; death of General Grant. — President Cleveland (§ 542) was the first Democratic President who had been inaugurated (§ 433) for a period of more than a quarter of a century, and many Southerners who had not visited Washington since Buchanan's day came to the capital to witness the ceremony. Mr. Cleveland made no sweeping changes respecting Government officials; his declared purpose was to be faithful to the spirit of the civil-service reform.

Toward the close of July (1885) General Grant died. He had spent the last months of his life in writing his "Memoirs" in order to save his family from the consequences of bankruptcy, which came upon them through the fraud of a partner in business. It has been well said that nothing in his whole career was more heroic than the diligence and determination with which he worked at his task while he was slowly dying from an exhausting and painful disease.

His funeral showed what progress reconciliation had made between North and South. Many of the prominent men who



BRITISH
TERRITORY
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICAN CESSION
1848
1850
1859
1864
1889
1867
1861
1845
ARIZONA
Great Salt Lake
Snake or Lewis R.
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Rock Falls
Great Falls
Platte R.
Rio Grande
Sacramento
San Francisco
Santa Fe
Rio Grande
Yukon R.
Bering Str.
East Cape
Cape Barrow
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Boundary between Alaska and the Russian Empire
RUSSIAN
SEA
1867
ALASKA
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
PACIFIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
Longitude 170° West from 150° Greenwich
Longitude



TERRITORIAL GROWTH
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

1776 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500

West from 92° Greenwich 87° 82° 77°

fought against him followed him to the grave, and among the pallbearers were several Confederate generals.

546. Cleveland's first annual message; the tariff; silver coinage; public lands. — In his first annual message to Congress (1885), the President called attention to the fact that the revenue of the Government was in excess of its actual needs; he recommended the adoption of a tariff which should yield enough to meet all reasonable demands, while at the same time it should "protect the interests of American labor."

He urged Congress to suspend "the compulsory coinage of silver dollars" by repealing the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 (§ 535). He recommended that steps should be taken to recover public land which had been obtained by fraudulent means or through defective legislation for purely speculative purposes. The Land Department acted on this suggestion and succeeded in getting back more than 100,000,000 acres, to be disposed of as farms and homesteads to actual settlers.[1321]

547. Strikes and Anarchist riots in Chicago. — The year 1886 was noteworthy for labor troubles and strikes. The agitation began at the West and rapidly extended; it was particularly violent in Chicago. On the first of May 40,000 workmen struck in that city on the question of a reduction of time. Nearly all labor came to a standstill and every railroad was crippled. Two days later, a band of strikers made an attack on the McCormick Reaper Works. The police undertook to defend the works and a fight occurred, in which several of the strikers were wounded.

The following evening the strikers met in the Old Haymarket. Violent speeches were made, and the police ordered the gathering to disperse. As they were preparing to enforce the order, a dynamite bomb was thrown, which killed and wounded sixty officers, and the mob drawing revolvers began firing on the officers. The police returned the fire and charged on the mob with terrible effect. They arrested a number of the leaders of the riot; all were foreigners. They were tried

for murder and four were executed; a fifth escaped the gallows by blowing out his brains with some of his own dynamite.

The result of the riot showed conclusively that the number of Anarchists in the country was by no means large, and that the great body of American workingmen utterly repudiated the use of bombs in place of ballots as a means for securing rights or rectifying wrongs.

548. Five important laws; bills vetoed. — The death of the Vice-President (1885) led to the passage of a law regulating the order of presidential succession. Had his death been followed by that of the President, the country might have been left in a very unsettled condition, since the Constitution makes no further provision (Appendix, p. xii) beyond leaving the matter in the hands of Congress.

Congress now passed the Presidential Succession Act (1886). It provided that in case the offices of President and Vice-President should both become vacant, the Executive office should pass to the Secretary of State, and then, if necessary, to five other members of the Cabinet in a prescribed order.*

The excited and perilous contest over the disputed election of 1876 (Hayes *vs.* Tilden) (§ 531) induced Congress to pass (1887) the Electoral Count Act, which empowers each State, in case of controversy, to decide how its own vote stands; if it fails to decide, the question then comes before Congress.

The same Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act (1887). Under it five commissioners are appointed to maintain a just and uniform rate of transportation on all railroad and steamboat lines passing from State to State.

The Edmunds Act (§ 541) was now supplemented by the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887). It dissolved the

* The order of succession is as follows: (1) the Secretary of State; (2) the Secretary of the Treasury; (3) the Secretary of War; (4) the Secretary of the Navy; (5) the Postmaster-General; (6) the Secretary of the Interior; (7) the Attorney-General. The Cabinet was enlarged in 1889 so as to include the Secretary of the newly organized Department of Agriculture.

Mormon Church as a corporate body, confiscated all of its immense property in excess of $50,000, and put it in the hands of trustees.

The next year (1888) Congress passed a new Chinese Immigration Act (§ 541), which absolutely excluded further immigrants from that Empire.[1889]

During his administration President Cleveland vetoed more than three hundred bills, or more than double the number which had been vetoed by all preceding Presidents. These vetoes covered the Dependent Pension Bill (1887) * and several hundred private pension bills. The President gave as his reasons for refusing to sign the first measure that: (1) it was badly drawn and would lead to litigation; (2) that the Union soldiers had been better provided for by pay and bounties than any other soldiers "since mankind first went to war," and that those who had been disabled in service were receiving liberal pensions, amounting to $75,000,000 a year; finally (3) that the bill would subject the tax-payers of the country to an enormous additional expense.[1888]

Congress failed to pass the measure over the veto, but it was passed and approved under the next administration. One of President Cleveland's last acts was to veto the Direct Tax-Refunding Bill, the object of which was to reduce the surplus by refunding $16,000,000 levied and collected in behalf of the Union at the outbreak of the Civil War.

549. Increase of the navy; centennial celebration. — The navy which had done such noble service in the Civil War was rapidly falling into decay. Congress took the matter in hand (1886) by ordering the construction of a number of first-class

* This bill pensioned all who served ninety days in the War of the Rebellion and had been honorably discharged, and who were unable to perform manual labor, and the widows, children, and dependent parents of such persons. Previous acts (1862–1879) had provided pensions for soldiers and sailors disabled in the Civil War, for the dependent kinsmen of those who had died, and "back pay" on all pensions claimed in 1879 and subsequently.

steel cruisers. To-day (1897) the United States has a fleet of fifty-eight new war-vessels which in point of efficiency and speed are second to none in the world.

The autumn of 1887 completed the one hundredth birthday of the Constitution (§ 247). At the celebration held at Philadelphia the President delivered an address on the great charter of the Republic. "We receive it," said he, "sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past; and in all the future years it will be found sufficient if the American people are true to their sacred trust."

The following year (1888) the centennial of the settlement of Ohio (§ 258) and of the organization of the Northwest Territory (§ 237) was celebrated at Marietta, Cincinnati, and Columbus.

550. The presidential election (1888); the Australian ballot. — In the presidential campaign the Democrats made "tariff reform" the principal plank in their platform. They renominated Cleveland for President, with Allen G. Thurman of Ohio for Vice-President.

The Republicans declared themselves "uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection." They nominated General Benjamin Harrison of Indiana for President, and Levi P. Morton of New York for Vice-President.

The issue at the election was the question of the adoption of a revenue or of a protective tariff. The electoral vote stood 233 for Harrison to 168 for Cleveland; the popular vote was 5,540,329 for Cleveland and 5,439,853 for Harrison.[1824] *

At the State election (1889) Massachusetts made use, for the first time in American history, of the Australian, or secret, ballot. It was found to possess great merit in securing independent action on the part of voters. Other States soon began to adopt it or some method suggested by it, and such ballots

* The estimate of the popular vote differs slightly. Compare Stanwood's "Presidential Elections" with Johnston's "American Politics."

are now (1897) in use for both local and national elections in forty-one States.*

551. Summary. — The principal events of Cleveland's administration were: (1) the Anarchist riot in Chicago; (2) the passage of the five following important laws: the Presidential Succession, Electoral Count, Interstate Commerce, Dissolution of the Mormon Church, and the Chinese Immigration Acts; (3) the President's veto of the Dependent Pension and Tax-Refunding Bills; (4) the recovering of many millions of acres of public lands; (5) the increase of the navy; (6) the introduction of the Australian, or secret, ballot.

BENJAMIN HARRISON (REPUBLICAN), ONE TERM, 1889-1893.

552. "Protection" and the South; opening of Oklahoma. — In his inaugural address President Harrison (§ 550) said: "I look hopefully to the continuance of our protective system, and to the consequent development of manufacturing and mining enterprises in the States hitherto wholly given to agriculture, as a potent influence in the perfect unification of our people." [1325]

The region called by the Indians Oklahoma, or the "Beautiful Land," constituted the heart of the Indian Territory. The whites coveted it, and "boomers" had made repeated attempts to take forcible possession. In 1889 the Government purchased this tract of land from the Indians.

The President declared that it would be thrown open to settlement on April 22. At noon of that day the blast of a bugle was the signal for "a wild rush across the borders." Before nightfall more than 50,000 emigrants had entered the new Territory. Towns of tents and portable houses sprang up

* The claims made for the Australian, or secret, ballot are: (1) that it facilitates independent nominations for office; (2) that the ballots are officially printed; (3) that they are distributed to voters by sworn election officers; (4) that the voter is isolated while preparing his ballot, that it is impossible for any one to know how he votes, and hence that opportunities for fraud, intimidation, or bribery are thereby greatly diminished.

in a day, and a few months later Guthrie, the capital, could boast of its four daily papers, its six banks, its city waterworks, street cars, and electric lights.

553. **The Washington Centennial; the Pan-American Congress; admission of six new States; woman suffrage.** — A week after the opening of Oklahoma the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of Washington was celebrated in New York City (§ 249).

In the autumn (1889) the Pan-American Congress met in Washington. It consisted of delegates from the leading South American Republics and the Republic of Mexico, who met delegates appointed by the United States, with the view of forming a closer political and commercial union.

The following month (November, 1889) four new States — North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington — were admitted to the Union. The next summer (1890) Idaho and Wyoming were added, making the total number of States forty-four. Wyoming was the first State admitted to the Union with a constitution granting equal rights of suffrage and complete political equality to women. Colorado, Utah, and Idaho have since adopted similar constitutions; in 1894 Colorado elected three women to the legislature.*

554. **The new Pension Act; the Sherman Silver Act; the McKinley Tariff.** — In accordance with the earnest recommendation of President Harrison, Congress passed (1890) the Dependent Pension Bill which had been vetoed under the preceding administration (§ 548). This act nearly doubled the list of pensioners, making the entire number about a million. The disbursements in pensions from 1861 to 1889 amounted to nearly $1,000,000,000; in the last eight years (1889–1897)

* **Woman Suffrage.** — Twenty-seven States now (1897) recognize woman suffrage in some form; of these States 20 give women school suffrage; 1 (Kansas) full municipal suffrage; 2 (Arkansas and Mississippi) liquor license suffrage by petition; and 4 (Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho) full suffrage and right to hold office. (From information furnished by Henry B. Blackwell, Editor of the "Woman's Journal.")

more than $1,000,000,000 has been expended, making a total of over $2,000,000,000. The present rate of disbursement is over $380,000 a day, or $140,000,000 a year.[1926]

The same Congress repealed the Bland-Allison Silver Coinage Act (§ 535) and passed (July 14, 1890) the Sherman Silver Purchase and Coinage Act. It directed the Treasurer of the United States to buy 4,500,000 ounces, or about 140 tons, avoirdupois, of silver each month, and ordered 2,000,000 ounces to be coined into dollars each month until July 1, 1891, and thereafter as might be deemed necessary.

Senator Sherman, the reputed author of the law, says: "A large majority of the Senate favored free silver, and this bill was prepared to prevent the passage of an act for free silver coinage."[1927] The friends of silver believed that this enormous monthly purchase of that metal by the Government would advance its market value; on the contrary it continued to steadily decline.[1928] *

* The value of a silver dollar, measured by the market price of silver in 1873 when silver was demonetized (§ 528), was $1.004; by 1878, when the Bland-Allison Silver Coinage Bill passed (§ 535), it had fallen to 89 cents and a fraction; in 1890, when the Sherman Silver Purchase Act was passed, it had fallen to 81 cents; thereafter it continued to fall until, when the Sherman Act was repealed in 1893, it stood at 51 cents and a fraction, where it now (1897) stands. The Director of the United States Mint (Report for 1893, pp. 21–26) attributes the fall in the price of silver, first, to the fact that a number of the leading nations of Europe ceased coining it except in small sums; and secondly and chiefly, because of the enormous increase in the output of the metal. In 1873 the total production was $81,800,000; by 1892 it had risen to $196,605,000, — an increase of 140 per cent.

On the other hand, Senator Jones, the great silver mine owner of Nevada, and President Andrews of Brown University contend that silver has not actually fallen in value or in purchasing power, but that there has been a "ruinously great" rise in gold. See Senator Jones's speech in Johnston's "American Orations," IV. 362; and Andrews's "United States," II. 276.

Up to 1873 only about $8,000,000 in silver dollars had been coined, and at that date none were in circulation and had not been for many years; on the first of October, 1896, the total issue of silver dollars was over

Early in the autumn of 1890 Congress passed the McKinley Tariff. Its object was to reduce the revenue, then largely in excess of our demands, and to secure to the American farmer protection against competition equal to that granted to the American manufacturer. The duties under the new tariff averaged $48\frac{4}{10}$ per cent, — the highest ever imposed. The act contained certain provisions called Reciprocity or "Fair Trade" Measures. They gave the President power to reimpose duties on certain articles on the free list in case he thought that the countries exporting those articles to the United States levied unreasonable duties on imports of American agricultural products. This provision led to the negotiation of commercial treaties with a number of European and South American countries.[1889]

555. The census of 1890; the Patent Office Centennial. — The "Centennial Census" (1890) reported the total area of the United States, including Alaska, at over 3,600,000 square miles, and the total population (Indians not included) at 62,622,250.

We began our national life a poor and struggling people, weak in numbers; on the West our possessions were bounded by the Mississippi. In a single century we had gained 58,000,000 of population, we had taken possession of the entire breadth of the Continent, and had accumulated wealth sufficient to give $1000 to every man, woman, and child in the Union.[1890]

The following year (1891), the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Patent Office at Washington was celebrated.

$437,000,000, besides $75,000,000 of subsidiary silver. A very large amount of silver bullion, estimated to be worth over $125,000,000, still remains uncoined. The total gold coinage to October 1, 1896, was $600,544,227. The total amount of coin notes and bullion then on hand was $2,257,965,845, and the total amount of specie and paper in circulation (including Government currency and national bank notes) was $1,585,593,509, or $22.05 per capita, estimating the population of the United States at 71,774,000. See "The World Almanac," 1897, p. 182.

During the century of its existence the office had issued more than 450,000 patents. These cover well-nigh the whole field of human industry from the first patent issued in 1790 for making potash for soap down to those for the electric motors of the present day. A large proportion of patents are for new or improved labor-saving inventions. Carroll D. Wright testifies that American machinery has shortened the hours of work, increased the workman's wages, and reduced the prices he pays for all kinds of manufactured goods.[1831]

556. Labor troubles at Homestead. — In the summer of 1892 the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead near Pittsburgh gave notice that it should be compelled to reduce the pay of its employés, more than three thousand in number. The men refused to accept the reduction, and hanged the President of the Company in effigy. Thereupon the company shut its doors two days before the contract time expired.

The discharged men took possession of the works and refused to give them up. The Company hired a strong body of armed Pinkerton detectives to dislodge them. A battle ensued in which a number were killed and wounded on both sides, and the Pinkertons were compelled to surrender. The Governor of Pennsylvania sent the entire militia force of the State to Homestead to restore order. The Carnegie Company then opened their mills with new men. The strike lasted about twenty weeks; it cost the Company, the strikers, and the public an average of more than $200,000 a week, or a total of $4,325,000.[1832]

557. The Supreme Court vs. the Mormon Church; amnesty to the Mormons. — Meanwhile the United States Supreme Court had affirmed (1890) the constitutionality of the Edmunds-Tucker Law (§ 548) confiscating the property of the Mormon Church. A few months later the head of that church publicly advised his followers to obey the law and renounce polygamy. A general conference held at Salt Lake City (1890) pledged the whole body of Mormons to accept the advice of

their President. Thereupon President Harrison issued a proclamation of amnesty (1893) to the Mormons, and the confiscated church property was restored.

558. The presidential election (1892). — The chief issue in the presidential campaign was the tariff question. The Republicans reaffirmed "the American doctrine of Protection" and renominated President Harrison, with Whitelaw Reid of New York for Vice-President.

The Democrats denounced "Protection" as "a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few." They demanded a tariff for revenue only and nominated ex-President Cleveland, with Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for Vice-President.

The People's Party, or "Populists" (§ 529), now held their first National Convention (1892). They demanded free silver coinage in the ratio of 16 to 1 (§ 255) and a speedy increase in the issue of money to not less than $50 per capita (§ 554, note). The remaining planks in their platform did not differ very essentially from the socialist features of those of the Labor Party or of the "Grangers" (§§ 527, 529). The "Populists" nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa for President, and James G. Field of Virginia for Vice-President.

In the five States of Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, North Dakota, and Wyoming the Democrats voted for the Populist candidate.

At the election Cleveland received 277 electoral votes, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22. The popular vote stood 5,556,543 for Cleveland, 5,175,582 for Harrison, and 1,040,886 for Weaver.[1888]

559. Summary. — The principal events of Harrison's administration were the passage of the Dependent Pension Act, the Sherman Silver Act, and the McKinley Protective Tariff. Six States were admitted, one with woman suffrage; and the first vessels of our new steel navy were built. The Census Report, the Patent Office Celebration, and the Homestead Strike also demand notice.

GROVER CLEVELAND (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM, 1893–1897.

560. Cleveland's inaugural address; the Columbus celebration; the Columbian Exposition. — On the 4th of March, 1893, the Democratic Party came into full control of all departments of the national Government. In his inaugural address, (§ 558) President Cleveland dwelt mainly on the necessity of a "sound and stable currency" and of "tariff reform." He urged that there should be no more "protection for protection's sake," and called on the people to support the Government instead of looking to the Government to support them.[1834]

The four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus had been celebrated (1892) in the schools throughout the United States. The celebration was resumed in the spring of 1893 by an international naval review held in New York Harbor. This pageant was preliminary to the opening of the "Columbian Exposition"* at Chicago on the first of May. The Exposition was in every way worthy of the purpose for which it was planned, and it would be difficult to conceive of a more magnificent spectacle than this greatest of World's Fairs extending for two miles along the shore of Lake Michigan.

561. The panic of 1893; repeal of the Sherman Silver Act and of the "Force Act"; the Behring Sea case. — In the midst of the Columbian celebration a terrible financial panic swept over the country. Over three hundred banks suspended payment, business was paralyzed, and failures multiplied. This occurred at a time when the total amount of silver stored in the Treasury vaults at Washington or in circulation among the people was nearly $600,000,000.[1835]

The panic appears to have been caused by the action of foreign holders of our stocks and Government securities. They

*The "World's Columbian Exposition" was created by act of Congress, April 25, 1890. The total expenditure on the great Fair exceeded $31,000,000. The total number of visitors was more than 21,000,000, or an average of nearly 120,000 a day for the six months the exhibition was open. It was in every respect a brilliant success.

believed that we intended paying our debts in silver dollars, worth then about 67 cents.* For this reason they made haste to sell their holdings at whatever price they could get. This caused depression and "tight money" in New York and throughout the country.†

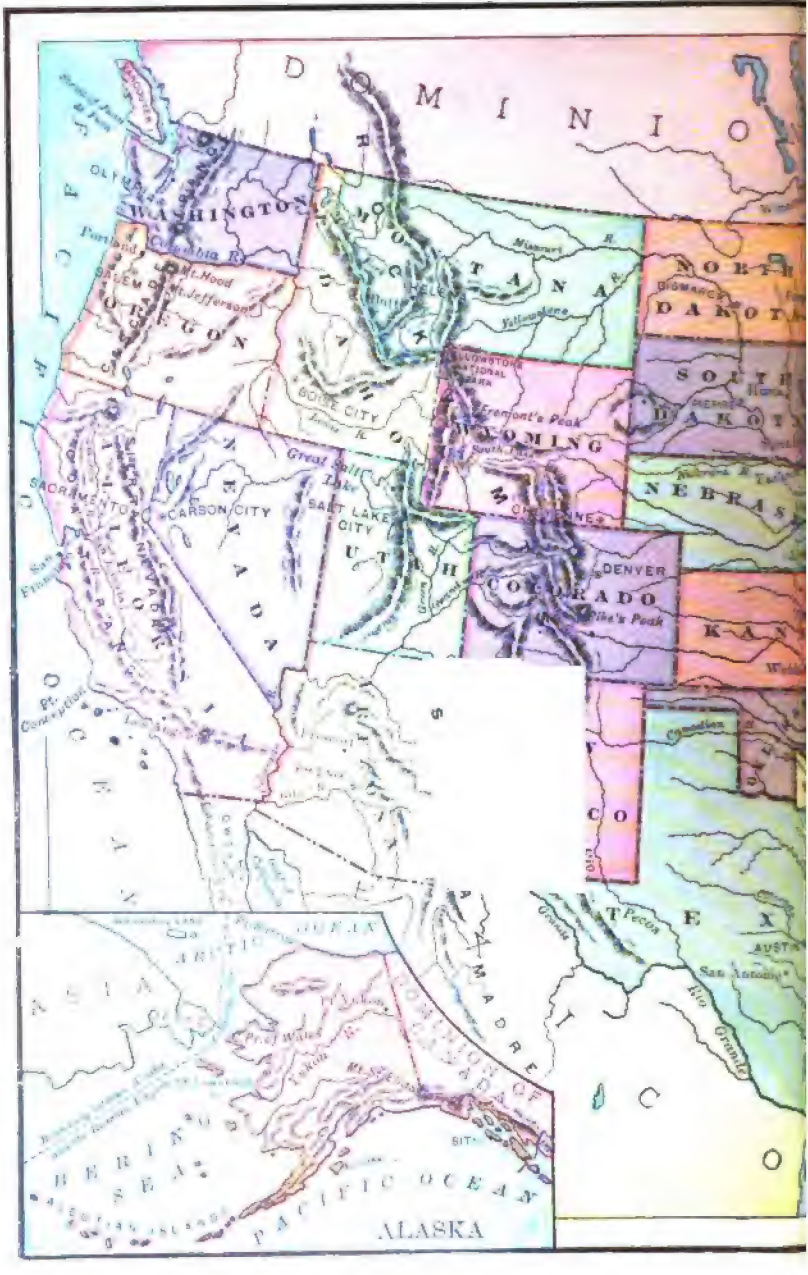
The crisis was so alarming that the President summoned an extra session of Congress (August 3, 1893) to consider what should be done. He believed that the primary cause of the panic was the continued purchase and coinage of enormous quantities of silver in a steadily falling market for that metal. In accordance with the President's recommendation, Congress proceeded to discuss the proposed repeal of the Sherman Act (§ 554). Senator Sherman himself spoke earnestly for that repeal.‡ It was carried in the House by a majority of 131, and after two months' debate a majority of 11 voted for it in the Senate and it at once received the President's approval (November 1, 1893).[1336]

* In July, 1892, the market value of the silver dollar was 88 cents; in June, 1893, the British Government closed the mints of India to the free coinage of silver, and the market value of the dollar speedily fell to 67 cents.

General Francis A. Walker, an earnest advocate of international bimetallism, took the ground that the only true way to raise the price of silver was to induce the leading powers of the Old World to join the United States in remonetizing that metal. On the other hand, the Free Silver Party contended that the United States could and should act independently of Europe in the matter. See Walker's "International Bimetallism," Preface, *et seq.*

† The Western Populists declared that the panic was caused by a conspiracy hatched by British and American bankers with Mr. Cleveland's encouragement for the express purpose of driving silver money out of use. See "Political Science Quarterly," December, 1893.

‡ Senator Sherman said: "The free coinage of silver and gold at any ratio you may fix means the use of the cheaper metal only. . . . No man will carry to the mint one ounce of gold to be coined into dollars when he can carry sixteen ounces of silver, worth but little more in the market than half an ounce of gold, and get the same number of dollars." See Sherman's "Recollections," II. 1191.



D O M I N I O
WASHINGTON
OREGON
Portland
Columbia R.
Mt. Hood
Mt. Jefferson
SALEM
OLYMPIA
Missouri R.
Yellowstone
Fremont's Peak
WYOMING
South Pass
BOISE CITY
Great Salt Lake
SALT LAKE CITY
CARSON CITY
SACRAMENTO
NEVADA
UTAH
DENVER
COLORADO
Pike's Peak
NEBRAS
DAKOTA
Canadian
Pecos
San Antonio
Rio Grande
Pt. Conception
ARCTIC OCEAN
ASIA
Pt. of Wales
Yukon
DOMINION OF CANADA
BERING SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALASKA

MAP OF
THE
UNITED STATES
CANADA
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake of the Woods
Winnipeg
Quebec
Montreal
OTTAWA
St. Lawrence R.
MINNESOTA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
NEW YORK
MAINE
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
RHODE ID.
CONNECTICUT
Boston
Portland
Augusta
Bangor
Concord
Providence
Hartford
Albany
Buffalo
Rochester
Syracuse
Utica
Trenton
Philadelphia
New York
Long I.
Harrisburg
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburg
Cleveland
Detroit
Milwaukee
Chicago
Minneapolis
St. Paul
Madison
Lansing
IOWA
Des Moines
ILLINOIS
Springfield
MISSOURI
Jefferson City
Kansas City
St. Louis
Iron Mt.
ARKANSAS
Little Rock
Fort Smith
Texarkana
LOUISIANA
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Shreveport
Houston
Galveston
MISSISSIPPI
Jackson
ALABAMA
Montgomery
Mobile
GEORGIA
Atlanta
Macon
Savannah
Augusta
FLORIDA
Tallahassee
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Cape Sable
Key West
SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia
Charleston
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
Wilmington
Cape Hatteras
Pamlico Sound
Albemarle Sound
Norfolk
Richmond
Petersburg
Lynchburg
Roanoke
WEST VIRGINIA
Wheeling
Parkersburg
Charleston
KENTUCKY
Louisville
Frankfort
Lexington
Cincinnati
TENNESSEE
Nashville
Memphis
Knoxville
Chattanooga
Vicksburg
Natchez
Meridian
Tallahassee
Pensacola
Mobile Bay
Chesapeake Bay
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAHAMA ISLANDS
WEST INDIES
CUBA
Havana
Key West
Cape Sable
Orleans
Texas
Kansas
Nebraska
Dakota
Indiana
Ohio
Virginia
Maryland
Delaware
New Jersey
Connecticut
Rhode Island
Massachusetts
Vermont
New Hampshire
Maine

Congress later repealed the "Force Act" (§ 525). A controversy had long been going on with England respecting the infringement of our rights in Behring Sea. We claimed that when we purchased Alaska (§ 520) we thereby obtained the power to close that sea against foreign seal hunters. It had been agreed to settle the matter by arbitration. The commission appointed reported (1893) that the sea must remain open, but that we had the right to take measures to protect the seals at certain seasons. This decision ended the dispute.

562. The Coxey "Army"; the Chicago strike. — The business depression of the winter of 1893–1894 gave rise to a remarkable movement. One Coxey started from Massilon, Ohio, to lead an "army" of the unemployed to Washington to demand aid from the Government. Coxey's example led to the formation of similar "armies" in California and other parts of the West. They forced freight trains to transport them, and lived "tramp" fashion off the country through which they passed on their way toward the national capital.

"General" Coxey with his followers of the "Commonweal of Christ" reached Washington the last of April (1894). The police forbade his addressing the people from the steps of the capitol, and the "Commonwealers" soon deserted him. The other "armies" gradually broke up, and the threatened demonstration which had drawn recruits from fourteen States and two Territories ended in derisive and decisive failure.

About midsummer (1894) the employés of the Pullman Car Company, at the Pullman Works near Chicago, struck against a reduction of wages. The men employed on the principal railroads radiating from Chicago struck in sympathy and refused to haul Pullman cars. Serious riots ensued, a great amount of property was destroyed, and the police and the militia were defied. The President sent United States troops to Chicago to protect Government buildings, enforce the decrees of the federal courts, and prevent interference with the carrying of the mails. In all, it required a force of more than 14,000

militia and troops to hold the strikers and the mob effectually in check. The strike caused a loss estimated at $87,000,000. Good authorities make the total cost of the three great strikes of 1877 (§ 534), 1892 (§ 556), and 1894 about $172,000,000, or a loss of more than $30,000 a day for every working day of the seventeen years covering the period.[1337]

563. Hawaii; the Wilson-Gorman Tariff; the income tax; the Atlanta Exhibition; the "New South"; the "New West." — A revolution occurred in Hawaii early in 1893, and the revolutionists, after dethroning the Queen, opened negotiations for annexation to the United States. Meanwhile an American protectorate was declared. President Cleveland sent commissioners to investigate the condition of affairs; acting on their report, he refused to continue the protectorate or to favor annexation, but issued a proclamation (1894) recognizing Hawaii as an independent Republic.

Meanwhile Congress was discussing the Wilson-Gorman Tariff for reducing "taxation" and providing "revenue." As originally drawn it abolished duties on raw materials and on the necessaries of life; but in its progress through the Senate the bill received more than six hundred amendments. These so changed its character that the President would not give it his approval, and it became law without his signature (Appendix, p. ix, sect. 7). The new tariff reduced the rate of duties about 11 per cent, making the average rate 37 per cent (§ 554). Wool was the only raw material it admitted free.[1338] An income tax was appended to the tariff, but the United States Supreme Court (1896) decided it to be unconstitutional.

The following autumn (1895) the "Cotton States and International Exhibition" was held at Atlanta. At the appointed moment the President's young daughter pressed an electric button communicating with the Exhibition buildings many hundreds of miles distant. At her touch the gates swung open to the public. The Exhibition showed the marvellous progress the "New South" had made since the war.

The buildings stood in Piedmont Park on the very ground where thirty years before Sherman had planted the batteries which threw the first shell into Atlanta. Since then, not only Atlanta, but the whole section it represented had risen from its ruins. The South was no longer poor; between 1880 and 1890 its valuation had increased nearly $4,000,000,000. It had ceased to be a purely agricultural country, dependent on the North for its manufactured goods. Mills had sprung up which spun and wove hundreds of thousands of bales of cotton, and by the aid of improved machinery a single operative could in a twelvemonth produce cloth enough to supply 1500 persons.

The South, too, is naturally rich in iron and coal, but before the war these mineral treasures had scarcely been touched. Now all had changed, mines had been opened, millions of tons of coal had been dug, and enormous quantities of iron smelted.* This was the work of free labor; as ex-President Harrison said: "The Emancipation Proclamation was heard in the depths of the earth. . . . Men were made free and material things became our better servants." [1889]

The intellectual progress of the South has kept pace with her material growth. Thanks to the labors of the different religious denominations of the country and to the princely gifts of George Peabody, John F. Slater, and Paul Tulane, schools and colleges were opened for both white and black at a time when the people of that section were too poor to undertake such work for themselves. Since then the South has raised and expended about $400,000,000 on the education of her children, so that all may have an "even start in life." Of this sum the Southern people have given a generous share toward the maintenance of colored schools.

In this astonishing advance nothing is more wonderful than the progress made by the negro. A little more than a genera-

* In 1890 the South mined 15,000,000 tons of coal and smelted 1,600,000 tons of iron ore.

tion ago the black man had no record; he was simply a drudge driven to his daily toil by the overseer's whip. He "knew nothing, owned nothing, was nothing," The first school for freedmen was opened in the autumn of 1861 under the guns of Fort Monroe. To-day 40 per cent of the negroes can read and write, and an ever-increasing number are becoming property owners and tax-payers. It is true that the population of the section known as the "Black Belt" moves forward slowly; nevertheless it moves, and idleness, ignorance, and degradation — the heritage of slavery — are gradually giving way to the desire to know something, to do something, to have something, and to be something.[1340]

If we turn from the "New South" to the "New West," we find growth in population, industrial enterprise, and wealth without a parallel. Since the war, vast solitudes have been settled and thousands of miles of railroads constructed. Towns and cities have sprung up, mines of precious metals have been opened, and cattle and sheep ranches and grain farms established on a colossal scale. The food-products of that section alone would suffice to feed nearly the entire population of the United States. The live stock was valued in 1890 at over $1,000,000,000. A single State produces over sixty million bushels of wheat for its annual harvest, and the mills of a single city turn out a hundred thousand barrels of flour a week.

564. **The Venezuela controversy; the Arbitration Treaty; admission of Utah; extension of civil-service reform.** — For more than half a century a controversy had existed between Venezuela and Great Britain respecting the boundary line of British Guiana. In his third annual message (1895) President Cleveland said that he should renew his efforts to induce the disputants to settle the question by arbitration in order "to remove from this hemisphere all causes of difference with Powers beyond sea." Great Britain declined to accept the proposal, and the President sent a special message to Congress (Decem-

ber 17, 1895), urging the application of the Monroe Doctrine (§ 331) to the case, and asking that a commission should be appointed to determine "the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana." A very large part of the American people greeted the message with enthusiastic approval, but its warlike tone alarmed the stock market, and securities fell with panic-like rapidity.

Congress authorized the appointment of commissioners, but before they had completed their labors Great Britain agreed to submit the whole matter to arbitration. This was done under a treaty made to that effect, and late in 1896 the question was satisfactorily settled.[1341]

Later (January 11, 1897), a general treaty of arbitration was negotiated between the United States and Great Britain, but the Senate has not yet taken definitive action respecting it.

Meanwhile (1896) Utah had been admitted to the Union, making the total number of States forty-five.

The cause of civil-service reform (§ 533) had been pushed forward by President Arthur and his successors until the whole number in the classified service had risen from about 15,000 to nearly 50,000. In the spring of 1896 President Cleveland, by one stroke of the pen, added more than 40,000 positions or offices, raising the total to nearly 90,000, or about one-half of the entire number — classified and unclassified — in the civil service. The party which has recently gained the presidential election pledges itself to enforce and extend the Civil Service Law "wherever practicable."[1342]

565. The presidential election (1896). — The two main questions at issue were: (1) the free coinage of silver (§ 554), and (2) that of a protective tariff. The Republicans declared themselves "unreservedly for sound money" and unalterably "opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world."

They nominated Major William McKinley of Ohio for President, with Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey for Vice-President.

On the refusal of the Convention to adopt free silver, Senator Teller and twenty other delegates, representing the six States of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, South Dakota, and Utah, seceded from the Convention and from the Republican Party.

The Democrats demanded "the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." They furthermore demanded that tariff duties should be levied for revenue only.

They nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President, with Arthur Sewall of Maine for Vice-President.

A large number of Democrats refused to support the free-silver platform. They took the name of the National Democratic Party and adopted a platform upholding "the gold standard." They nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois for President, with Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky for Vice-President.

Meanwhile the People's Party, or "Populists" (§§ 529, 558), held their second National Convention. They adopted the free-silver plank of the Democratic platform and nominated the Democratic candidate for President, with Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice-President. The general tone of the "Populist" platform decidedly favored that form of socialism in which the Nation or the State undertakes to act for the individual in the ownership and management of railroads, telegraph lines, and other important enterprises and industries.

At the election McKinley received 271 electoral votes and Bryan 176. The popular vote stood 7,105,959 for McKinley to 6,454,943 for Bryan. Many thousands of "Gold Democrats" cast their votes for the Republican candidate.[1343]

566. Summary. — The chief political events of President Cleveland's administration were: (1) the repeal of the Sherman Silver Act and the "Force Act"; (2) the Behring Sea and the Venezuelan arbitration settlements; (3) the passage of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff; (4) the great extension of civil-service

reform, and the admission of Utah into the Union. Other events of greater or less importance were the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition, the Exhibition at Atlanta, the panic of 1893, the march of the "Coxey Army," and the Chicago strike.

567. General survey of the history of the nation. — In growth of population, development of natural resources, and accumulation of wealth, the American Republic stands at the head of the civilized nations of the globe.

The economic progress of the country is marked by the fact that nowhere else have labor-saving inventions reached such perfection; that here steam was first used for purposes of transportation, and electricity first employed to transmit intelligence.

Our progress on higher planes is not less evident. Here, free public schools and free public libraries have been established on a scale never before known; here, manhood suffrage has become the rule; here, entire religious toleration was first granted to all men.

Within the lifetime of a generation, the civil-service reform has been placed on a secure foundation, and the principle of international arbitration recognized. Within the same time, slavery has been abolished forever, and the Union has had a new birth in the hearts of the whole people.

Now fresh problems meet us. They are the result, in great measure, of the progress which we have made. They challenge our best powers. If we solve them successfully, we shall add a chapter to American history which will be worthy of its past, and which cannot fail to instruct and encourage all who read it.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: — That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature — a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice

and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members: —

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND

Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.

William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

DELAWARE.

Cæsar Rodney,
George Read,
Thomas M'Kean.

MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Hayward, Jr.,
Thomas Lynch, Jr.,
Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.[1]

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress[2] of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

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[1] Before the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, the Thirteen Colonies were subject to the king of Great Britain. From July 4, 1776, the United States of America were governed by a Continental or General Congress, until March 1, 1781, when the states adopted a constitution, called the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States." The Confederation had no president, no supreme court; and consisted of a single house of Congress, made up of delegates elected by the legislatures of the states. Under this constitution Congress continued to govern — in so far as a body with no practical authority can be said to govern — until March 4, 1789; but on May 14, 1787, a convention of delegates from all the states, except Rhode Island, met in Philadelphia "to form a *more perfect union*" (see the opening words of the Constitution above). The whole number of delegates that attended was fifty-five, but only thirty-nine signed the Constitution. The Articles of Confederation had been made by the *States* only; but as the opening words of the new compact declare, "We, *the People*," made the Constitution.

George Washington presided over the convention, and Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, James Madison, Rufus King, Roger Sherman, Alexander Hamilton, John Dickinson, Charles C. Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, J. Rutledge, and Gouverneur Morris, were among its distinguished members.

Madison, Hamilton, Washington, and Franklin took the leading part in the great work of drafting the new Constitution, and after its adoption by the convention, Madison and Hamilton used their influence, with great effect, to urge its ratification by the states, especially by New York (see their papers in the *Federalist*).

After a stormy session of nearly four months, during which the convention several times threatened to break up in hopeless dispute, the Constitution was at last adopted. (For the compromises on which it rested, see § 246.)

As originally drawn the preamble to the Constitution ran: "We, the people of" the thirteen states, each of which was specifically named. Later, when the Convention required the assent of but nine states to put the new government in force, the preamble was altered to its present form, namely: "We, the People of the United States." See Foster's *Commentaries on the Constitution*, I. 94.

The Constitution was then submitted to the thirteen states. In 1788 eleven had ratified it (Rhode Island and North Carolina declining then, though they gave their assent before the close of 1790), and on March 4, 1789, the new Constitution went into operation, although, owing to delays, Washington was not inaugurated as the first President until April 30 of that year. Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island ratified the Constitution with the express reservation that the people might reassume the powers they had granted in case those powers were perverted. See Elliot's *Debates*, I. 327, 334.

[2] Congress assembles on the first Monday in December; the session closes, by custom, at midnight on the 3d of the following March. Each Congress exists two years.

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,[1] which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.[2] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker[3] and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

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[1] At present (census of 1890) one representative is sent to Congress for every 173,901 persons.

[2] "Persons" meaning *slaves*. This has been amended (by Amendments XIII. and XIV.), and is no longer in force.

[3] The Speaker presides. Other officers are the clerk, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, etc.

The Senate shall choose their other officers,[1] and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation[2] for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

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[1] The chief of these are the secretary, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, etc.

[2] $ 5000 a year, with twenty cents for every mile necessarily travelled in coming to and returning from the Capital.

SECTION 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; — And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.[1]

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex-post-facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its in-

[1] "Person" meaning *slave*; referring to the foreign slave-trade, abolished in 1808.

spection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impost, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.[1]]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.[2]

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[1] This paragraph in brackets has been set aside by the XII. Amendment.

[2] The electors are chosen on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November, next before the expiration of a presidential term. They vote (by Act of Congress of Feb. 3, 1887) on the second Monday in January following, for President and Vice-President. The votes are counted, and declared in Congress on the second Wednesday of the next February.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation[1] which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:— "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress informatio[2] of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall

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[1] The President now receives $50,000 a year; the Vice-President, $8000. Previous to 1872 the President received but $25,000 a year.

[2] The Presidents, beginning with Jefferson, have done this by messages sent to Congress. Washington and Adams read speeches or messages to that body.

think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors other public ministers, and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State; [1] — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by

[1] But compare Amendment XI.

general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person[1] held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

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[1] "Person" here means *slave*. This was the original Fugitive Slave Law. It now has no force, since, by Amendment XIII. to the Constitution, slavery is prohibited.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in conventions, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.
NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT.
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

DELAWARE.
GEORGE READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND.
JAMES M'HENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.
JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.
WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.
WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.[1] — Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. — A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. — In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

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[1] The first ten amendments were offered in 1789, and adopted before the close of 1791. They were largely the work of James Madison. They were adopted, says Judge Story, in order to "more efficiently guard certain rights already provided for in the Constitution, or to prohibit certain exercises of authority supposed to be dangerous to the public interests."

ARTICLE IX. — The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.[1] — The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.[2] — The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant with the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; — the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.[3] — *Section* 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Proposed in 1794; adopted 1798. A number of states have, at different times, taken advantage of this amendment to repudiate their debts.

[2] Adopted 1804.

[3] This confirmed the Proclamation of Emancipation; it was adopted in 1865.

ARTICLE XIV.[1] — *Section* 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.[2] — *Section* 1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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[1] Adopted 1868. The object of sections 1 and 2 was to make the freedmen (negroes), emancipated during the Civil War, *citizens* of the United States.

[2] Adopted 1870. Its object was to give the freedmen (negroes) the right to *vote*.

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES.

NO.	NAME OF STATE.	DERIVATION OF NAME.	DATE OF ADMISSION.	BY WHOM SETTLED.	FIRST SETTLEMENT.	DATE OF SETTLEMENT.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION IN 1790.	POPULATION IN 1890.
1	***Delaware.***	In honor of Lord Delaware.	1787	Swedes.	Christiana, near Wilmington.	1638	2,050	50,996	168,493
2	***Pennsylvania.***	Name given by Charles II.—Meaning Penn's Woods.	1787	English.	Philadelphia.	1683	45,215	434,373	5,258,014
3	***New Jersey.***	In honor of Sir George Carteret, governor of the British Island of Jersey.	1787	Dutch.	Bergen.	1617	7,815	184,139	1,444,933
4	***Georgia.***	In honor of George II.	1788	English.	Savannah.	1733	59,475	82,548	1,837,353
5	***Connecticut.***	From the Indian—Long River.	1788	English.	Wethersfield.	1634?	4,990	238,431	746,258
6	***Massachusetts.***	From the Indian—The Great Hills—from the Blue Hills near Boston.	1788	English.	Plymouth.	1620	8,315	378,717	2,238,943
7	***Maryland.***	In honor of Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I.	1788	English.	St. Mary's.	1634	12,210	319,728	1,042,390
8	***South Carolina.***	In honor of Charles II.; derived from *Carolus*, the Latin for Charles.	1788	English.	Old Charleston?	1670?	30,570	249,073	1,151,149
9	***New Hampshire.***	Named by Sir Ferdinand Gorges, in remembrance of Hampshire, England.	1788	English.	Dover?	1627?	9,305	141,899	376,530
10	***Virginia.***	In honor of Queen Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen."	1788	English.	Jamestown.	1607	42,450	748,308 includi'g W. Va.	1,655,980
11	***New York.***	In honor of the Duke of York, who became James II.	1788	Dutch.	Fort Orange (Albany).	1623	49,170	340,120	5,997,853
12	***North Carolina.***	In honor of Charles II.; derived from *Carolus*, the Latin for Charles.	1789	English.	Albemarle?	1663?	52,250	393,751	1,617,947

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES (Continued).

NO.	NAME OF STATE.	DERIVATION OF NAME.	DATE OF ADMISSION.	BY WHOM SETTLED.	FIRST SETTLEMENT.	DATE OF SETTLEMENT.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION IN 1790.	POPULATION IN 1890.
13	***Rhode Island.***	Either from a fancied resemblance of the Island of Rhode Island to the Isle of Rhodes in the Mediterranean, or from the Dutch Rood or Red Island.	1790	English.	Providence.	1636	1,250	69,110	345,506
14	Vermont.	From the French — Green Mountains.	1791	English.	Fort Dummer (near Brattleborough).	1724	9,565	85,416	332,422
15	Kentucky.	From the Indian — At the Head of a River; or meaning, according to other authorities, The Dark and Bloody Ground.	1792	English.	Harrodsburg.	1774	40,400	73,077	1,858,635
16	Tennessee.	From the Indian — River of the Big Bend.	1796	English.	Watauga.	1769	42,050	35,791	1,767,518
17	Ohio.	From the Indian — Beautiful or Beautiful River.	*1803	Americans.	Marietta.	1788	41,060		3,672,316
18	Louisiana.	From the French — In honor of Louis XIV. of France.	1812	French.	About 38 miles below New Orleans.	1700	48,720		1,118,587
19	Indiana.	From the word Indian.	1816	French.	Vincennes.	1702	36,350		2,192,404
20	Mississippi.	From the Indian — Great and Long River, or Father of Waters.	1817	French.	Natchez.	1726	46,810		1,289,600
21	Illinois.	From the union of an Indian and a French word — Tribe of Men.	1818	French.	Cahokia.	1682	56,650		3,826,351
22	Alabama.	From the Indian — A Place of Rest.	1819	French.	Near Mobile Bay.	1702	52,250		1,513,017

* The most recent authorities (see King's "History of Ohio" in *The Commonwealth Series*, and the article "Ohio" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) give the date of 1803 instead of 1802, the date usually given heretofore.

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES (Continued).

NO.	NAME OF STATE.	DERIVATION OF NAME.	DATE OF ADMISSION.	BY WHOM SETTLED.	FIRST SETTLEMENT.	DATE OF SETTLEMENT.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION IN 1790.	POPULATION IN 1890.
23	Maine.	The Main Land.	1820	English.	Pemaquid.	1625	33,040	96,540	661,086
24	Missouri.	From the Indian — Muddy, or Muddy River.	1821	French.	Fort Orleans (near Jefferson City).	1719	69,415		2,679,184
25	Arkansas.	From the Indian *Kansas* (Smoky Water) and the French *Arc*, a bow.	1836	French.	Little Rock.	1690?	53,850		1,128,179
26	Michigan.	From the Indian — A weir or dam of twigs for catching fish.	1837	French.	Mackinaw.	1680?	58,915		2,093,889
27	Florida.	From the Spanish *Pascua Florida* — Flowery Easter, hence Flowery, or Land of Flowers.	1845	Spanish.	St. Augustine.	1565	58,680		391,422
28	Texas.	Perhaps from an Indian word meaning Friends.	1845	French.	Lavaca, on the coast.	1685	265,780		2,235,523
29	Iowa.	The French form of an Indian word applied by the Sioux to the "Gray-snow Tribe," and meaning the "Drowsy" or the "Sleepy Ones."	1846	Americans.	Dubuque.	1833?	56,025		1,911,896
30	Wisconsin.	From the Indian — Wild or Rushing River (applied to the rapids of the Wisconsin).	1848	French.	Green Bay.	1669?	56,040		1,686,880
31	California.	From the Spanish — The name first occurs in a Spanish work of fiction (1510); it was there given to an imaginary island abounding in gold.	1850	Spanish.	San Diego.	1769	158,360		1,208,130
32	Minnesota.	From the Indian — Cloudy or Whitish Water.	1858	Americans.	Fort Snelling.	1819	83,365		1,301,826
33	Oregon.	Either from the Indian — River of the West, or from the Spanish — Wild Marjoram, which grows there in great abundance.	1859	Americans.	Astoria.	1811	96,030		313,767

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES (Concluded).

NO.	NAME OF STATE.	DERIVATION OF NAME.	DATE OF ADMISSION.	BY WHOM SETTLED.	FIRST SETTLEMENT.	DATE OF SETTLEMENT.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION IN 1790.	POPULATION IN 1890.
34	Kansas.	From the Indian — Smoky Water.	1861	Americans.	Atchison?	1854	82,080		1,427,096
35	West Virginia.	From Virginia.	1863	English.			24,780	included in 1790 in Va.	762,794
36	Nevada.	From the Spanish *Sierra Nevada* (Snowy mountain ridge), — Snowy.	1864	Americans.	Genoa, at the base of the Sierras.	1850	110,700		45,761
37	Nebraska.	From the Indian — Water Valley, or Shallow River.	1867	Americans.	Bellevue (near Omaha).	1847	77,510		1,058,910
38	Colorado.	From the Spanish — Red or Colored (referring to the color of the rocks).	1876	Americans.	Denver?	1859?	103,925		412,198
39	North Dakota.	From the Indian — Leagued or Allied (referring to the confederation or league of the Sioux tribes).	1889	English.	Pembina.	1812	70,795		182,719
40	South Dakota.	From the Indian — See above.	1889	Americans.	Yankton?	1859?	77,650		328,808
41	Montana.	From the Latin *Mons*, a mountain, — The Land of Mountains.	1889	Americans.	Helena?	1861?	146,080		132,159
42	Washington.	In honor of George Washington.	1889	Americans.	Tumwater.	1845	69,180		349,390
43	Idaho.	From the Indian — Diadem of the Mountains.	1890	Americans.	Pioneer City?	1862	84,800		84,385
44	Wyoming.	From the Indian — Great Plains.	1890	Americans.	Cheyenne.	1867	97,890		60,705
45	Utah	" " — Mountain Home.	1896	Americans.	Salt Lake City.	1847	84,970		207,905

Total population in 1790, 3,929,214. Total population, including territories, in 1880, 50,189,200; in 1890, 62,622,250.
Five territories: (1) New Mexico, (2) Arizona, (3) Alaska, (4) Indian Territory, (5) Oklahoma; the District of Columbia.
The ? indicates conflict of authorities or lack of positive information.

NOTE. — Authorities disagree on a number of the dates and place of settlement of states. The population and areas of states are taken from the United States Census Report of 1890. The total area of the United States, including Alaska (577,390), New Mexico (122,580), Utah (84,970), Arizona (113,020), Indian Territory (31,400), Oklahoma (39,030), and the District of Columbia (70) is about 3,580,242 square miles. "This area," says Lippincott, "is to some extent conjectural, and the figures of different authorities vary somewhat." The latest estimate in Chambers' *Encyclopædia* (New Edition) makes the total area of the United States, with Alaska, 3,602,990 square miles; while Professor Whitney in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (New Edition) gives the total area at 3,550,549 square miles.

TABLE OF THE PRESIDENTS.

NO.	PRESIDENT.	STATE.	TERM OF OFFICE.	BY WHAT PARTY ELECTED.	VICE-PRESIDENT.	SECRETARY OF STATE.
1	George Washington.	Virginia.	Two terms; 1789–1797. . . .	Whole people.	John Adams. . . .	Thomas Jefferson. Edmund Randolph. Timothy Pickering.
2	John Adams.	Massachusetts.	One term; 1797–1801.	Federalists. . .	Thomas Jefferson	Timothy Pickering. John Marshall.
3	Thomas Jefferson. . .	Virginia.	Two terms; 1801–1809. . .	(But see note 2, p. 201.) Republicans or Democratic Republicans.	Aaron Burr	James Madison.
4	James Madison	Virginia.	Two terms; 1809–1817. . .		George Clinton. . .	
5	James Monroe.	Virginia.	Two terms; 1817–1825. . .		George Clinton . .	Robert Smith.
6	John Quincy Adams.	Massachusetts.	One term; 1825–1829.	House of Rep.	Elbridge Gerry . .	James Monroe.
7	Andrew Jackson . . .	Tennessee . . .	Two terms; 1829–1837. . . .	Democrats . .	Dan'l D. Tompkins.	JohnQuincy Adams.
8	Martin Van Buren . .	New York . . .	One term; 1837–1841.	Democrats . . .	John C. Calhoun. .	Henry Clay.
9	William H. Harrison.	Ohio	One month; 1841	Whigs.	John C. Calhoun. Martin Van Buren	Martin Van Buren. Edward Livingston. Louis McLane.
10	John Tyler	Virginia.	3 yrs. 11 mos.; 1841–1845. .	Whigs.	Rich'd M. Johnson.	John Forsyth.
11	James K. Polk.	Tennessee . . .	One term; 1845–1849.	Democrats . . .	John Tyler.	John Forsyth.
12	Zachary Taylor. . . .	Louisiana. . . .	1 yr. 4 mos.; 1849, 1850. . .	Whigs	Millard Fillmore .	Daniel Webster.
13	Millard Fillmore . . .	New York . . .	2 yrs. 8 mos.; 1850–1853 . .	Whigs	. . . . .	Hugh S. Legaré. Abel P. Upshur. John C. Calhoun.
14	Franklin Pierce	N. Hampshire.	One term; 1853–1857.	Democrats . . .	William R. King. .	James Buchanan.
15	James Buchanan . . .	Pennsylvania .	One term; 1857–1861.	Democrats . . .	J. C. Breckinridge	John M. Clayton. Daniel Webster.
16	Abraham Lincoln. . .	Illinois	1 term and 6 w'ks; 1861–1865.	Republicans.	Hannibal Hamlin .	Edward Everett.
17	Andrew Johnson . . .	Tennessee . . .	3 yrs. 10¼ mos.; 1865–1869.	Republicans. .	Andrew Johnson. .	William L. Marcy.
18	Ulysses S. Grant . . .	Illinois.	Two terms; 1869–1877. . . .	Republicans.	. . . . .	Lewis Cass.
19	Rutherford B. Hayes.	Ohio	One term; 1877–1881.	Republicans. .	Schuylkr Colfax. .	Jeremiah S. Black.
20	James A. Garfield . .	Ohio	6 mos. 15 dys.; 1881.	Republicans. .	Henry Wilson. . .	William H. Seward.
21	Chester A. Arthur . .	New York . . .	3 yrs. 5 mos. 15 dys.; 1881-'85	Republicans. .	Wm. A. Wheeler. .	Elihu B. Washburn.
22	Grover Cleveland. . .	New York . . .	One term; 1885–1889.	Democrats . . .	Chester A. Arthur.	Hamilton Fish.
23	Benjamin Harrison .	Indiana	One term; 1889–1893 . . .	Republicans. .	. . . . .	William M. Evarts.
24	Grover Cleveland . .	New York . .	One term; 1893–1897 . . .	Democrats . .	Thos. A. Hendricks.	James G. Blaine.
25	William McKinley .	Ohio	One term; 1897–1901 . . .	Republicans .	Levi P. Morton.	F. T. Frelinghuysen.
					Adlai E. Stevenson	Thomas F. Bayard.
					Garrett A. Hobart.	James G. Blaine.
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INDEX.

Abolitionists, rise of the, 311, 324.
Acadians, expulsion of the, 139.
Adams, John, elected President, 236.
  administration of, 238.
  John Quincy, elected President, 297.
    administration of, 298.
    and slavery, 311, 314, 324, 326, 331.
    and the Monroe Doctrine, 294, 295.
  Samuel, 169, 173, 175.
Alabama admitted, 286.
"Alabama," the, claims, 408, 486.
Alaska, purchase of, 478.
Albany founded, 43, 49.
  plan of union, 138.
Algiers, war with, 253.
  treaty with, 236.
Alien and Sedition Laws, 240.
Allen, Ethan, 174.
Amendments to the Constitution, the first twelve, 221, 247.
  after the Civil War, 470, 471, 477.
America discovered by the Northmen, 1.
  discovered by Columbus, 5.
  continent of, discovered (1497) by John Cabot, 8.
    claimed (1497) by England, 8, 9.
  how discovered to be a continent, 10.
  name of, 9.
  effects of the discovery of, on Europe, 24
  first permanent English and French colonies in, 16, 18.
  England's reasons for colonizing, 27.
  first law-making assembly in, 33.
  Dutch settlements in, 43.
  first permanent English settlement in, 28.
  French settlements in, 16, 17.
  Spanish settlements in, 16.
  Swedish settlements in, 108.
  struggle of England and France for, 128–143.
  declares itself independent, 185.
  first flag of, 182, 193.
"American Policy" (tariff), 296, 315.
Americas, Congress of the three, 510.
Amnesty, proclamations of, 467, 473, 477, 514.
Anarchists at Chicago, 505.
Anderson, Major R., at Fort Sumter, 396, 402.
Andersonville prison-pen, 430.
André executed, 201.
Andros, Governor, 50, 51, 59, 82, 97.
Anne's, Queen, War, 135.
Annexation of Texas, 339–342.
Anthracite coal discovered, 120.
Antietam, battle of, 424.
Anti-Slavery (see Abolitionists), 311.
Appomattox Court House, Lee's surrender at, 460.
Apprentices, white, in Virginia, 33, 35.
Arbitration, international, 486, 517, 520, 523.
Arkansas slave territory, 287.
  admitted, 325.
Army of the Revolution, 175.
  of the War of 1812, 266.
  of the Mexican War, 349.
  of the Civil War, 403, 407, 461, 469.
Arnold, Benedict, in the Revolution, 183, 194.
  treason of, 200.
Art, early American, 158.
Arthur becomes President, 501.
Articles of Confederation, 186, 209, 210, 215.
Assemblies, Colonial, 34, 47, 49, 55, 57, 66, 71, 84, 88, 95, 97, 101, 102, 105, 106, 109, 112, 119, 120, 127.
Assistance, Writs of, 165.
Assumption of State debts, 223.
Astor, John J., and the War of 1812, 267.
  and Oregon, 346.
Atlanta taken by Sherman, 449.
  Exhibition, 518.
Atlantic telegraph completed, 478.
Austin, S. F., and Texas, 293.
Australian ballot introduced, 508.
Authors, American, 318.

Bacon, Nathaniel, rebellion of, 39.
  burns Jamestown, 40.
Balboa discovers the Pacific, 13.
Ballot, Australian, or secret, 508.
Baltimore, Lord, founds Maryland, 99.
Baltimore, city of, founded, 103.
  first blood in Civil War shed at, 404.
Bank, the first U. S., established, 224.
  the second U. S., 279.
  U. S., Jackson and the, 319–323
Banks, the "pet," 322.
  state, 322.
  wildcat, 322.
  national, established, 408.
Banks, General N. P., 422, 441.
Baptist Church, the first, 105.
Baptists driven out of Massachusetts, 78.
  go to Rhode Island, 105.
Battle of Alamance, 114.
  Allatoona, 452.
  Antietam, or Sharpsburg, 424.
  Atlanta, 449.
  Averysboro', 457.
  Ball's Bluff (note), 415.
  Bemis Heights, 193.
  Bennington, 192.
  Bentonville, 458.

Battle of Big Black River, 439.
Bladensburg, 272.
Brandywine, 191.
Buena Vista, 350.
Bull Run (first), or Manassas, 414.
Bull Run (second), or Manassas, 424.
Bunker Hill, 181, 182.
Camden (first), 200.
Camden (second), or Hobkirk's Hill, 204.
Cerro Gordo, 351.
Champion Hills, 439.
Chancellorsville, 433.
Chapultepec, 352.
Charleston, 199.
evacuated, 457.
Chesapeake and Shannon, 270.
Chickamauga, 441.
Chippewa, 272.
Chrysler's Farm, 272.
Churubusco, 352.
Cold Harbor, 446.
Concord, 174.
"Constellation," the, captures a French frigate, 240.
"Constitution," the, and the "Guerrière," 268.
Contreras, 352.
Corinth, 432.
Cowpens, 202.
Crown Point, 174.
Dallas, 449.
Detroit, Hull's surrender of, 267.
"Essex," the, in the Pacific, 269.
Eutaw Springs, 205.
Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, 423.
Flamborough Head (Paul Jones), 198.
Fort Donelson, 416.
Fort Duquesne, 137.
Fort Fisher, 456.
Fort Henry, 416.
Fort McAllister, 454.
Fort McHenry, 273.
Fort Mims (massacre), 273.
Fort Moultrie, 184.
Fort Pillow, 430.
Fort Stanwix, 193.
Fort Sumter, 403.
Fort Wagner, 430.
Fort Washington, 188.
Fredericksburg, 425.
Germantown, 192.
Gettysburg, 434-437.
Guilford Court House, 204.
Hobkirk's Hill, 204.
Horseshoe Bend or Tohopeka, 273.
Island Number Ten, 418.
Iuka, 432.
"Kearsarge," the, and the "Alabama," 455.
Kenesaw Mountain, 449.
King's Mountain, 202.
Lake Champlain, 271.
Lake Erie, 270.
Lexington, 173, 174.
Long Island, 186-188.
Lookout Mountain, 442.
Louisburg, 135.
Lundy's Lane, 272.
Mill Spring, 417.
Battle of Missionary Ridge, 442.
Mobile Bay, 455.
Molino del Ray, 352.
"Monitor" and the "Merrimac," 419.
Monmouth, 195.
Monterey, 350.
Murfreesboro', or Stone River, 432.
Narragansett Fort, 80.
Nashville, 454.
New Orleans (1815), 276.
New Orleans (1862), 420.
Oriskany, 193.
Palo Alto, 349.
Pea Ridge, 415.
Peninsular Campaign, 421.
Pequot Fort, 94.
Perryville, 431.
Petersburg, 446.
Petersburg (Mine), 447.
Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, 418.
Port Hudson, 440.
Princeton, 189.
Quebec (1759), 140.
Quebec (1775), 183.
Resaca, 449.
Resaca de la Palma, 350.
Saratoga, 194.
Savannah, 454.
Seven days round Richmond, 423.
Spottsylvania Court House, 446.
Stony Point, 198.
Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 174, 175.
Tippecanoe, 264.
Tohopeka, 273.
Trenton, 189.
Tripoli, 253.
Tallahoma, 432, 441.
Turner's Falls, 80.
Vera Cruz, 351.
Vicksburg, siege and capture of, 438-441.
Wilderness, the, 445.
Wilson's Creek (note), 445.
Winchester, 448.
Yorktown, 207.
Beauregard, General P. G. T., 403, 418, 431.
Behring, Vitus, discovery respecting America (1728), 10.
Behring Sea case, 517.
Bemis Heights, or Saratoga, battle of, 193.
Benton, Thomas H., 321, 340, 346, 364, 373.
Berkeley, Sir William, 37.
Biloxi, the French build a fort at, 133.
Black Hawk War, 319.
Bland-Allison Silver Act, 497.
Act repealed, 511.
Boone, Daniel, in Kentucky, 115.
Border States in the Civil War, 405.
Boston, settlement of, 69.
Latin School, 74.
Massacre, 168.
"Tea Party," 169.
port of, closed, 170.
siege of, 173-183.
evacuated by the British, 184.
Braddock's defeat, 138, 139.
Bradford, Governor, of Plymouth, 64.
Bragg, General B., 431.
Brown, John, in Kansas, 377.
raid and execution of, 390.
John Brown song, 391.

Brown University founded, 107.
Buchanan elected President, 381.
administration of, 383–399.
Buell, General D. C., 417, 431, 432.
"Bummers," Sherman's, 455.
Burgesses, House of, established, 34.
Burgoyne expedition, 191–194.
Burnside, General A. E., 425, 434.
Burr, Aaron, conspiracy of, 255.
Butler, General B. F., and the contrabands, 426.
at New Orleans, 421; 427, 456.

Cabeza de Vaca, 13.
Cabinet, the first, 220.
the enlarged (note), 506.
Cabot, John, discovers (1497) the *continent* of America, 8.
claims America (1497) for England, 8, 9.
Cabots, voyages of the, 7, 8.
Calhoun and nullification, 315.
resolutions (1837), 331; (1847), 355.
defends slavery, 314, 331, 364.
exposition and protest, 306.
urges the annexation of Texas, 339.
advocates War of 1812, 265.
"Liberty dearer than Union," 310.
and Compromises of 1850, 364.
California, conquest of, 352, 353.
gold found in, 357.
emigration to, 358.
vigilance committee, 359.
results of production of gold, 358, 359.
debate on admission of, as free State, 364.
admission of, 365.
Canal, the Erie, 299.
Carolina, settlements of North and South, 110.
"The Grand Model," 111.
religious toleration, 112.
settlement of Charleston, 112.
Huguenot emigrants, 112.
trade in rice and indigo, 113.
Indian wars, 113.
Governor Tryon, 114.
battle of Alamance, 114.
Robertson and Sevier, 115.
Stamp Act Congress, 115.
nullification in, 314.
secession of, 394.
negro rule in, 483.
Carpenters' Hall, the first Congress meets in, 171.
Carpet-Baggers, 483, 484.
Cartier's explorations, 16.
Carver, Governor John, 64.
Catholics, the, in England, 100.
severe treatment of, 31, 53.
not allowed to enter Virginia, 31.
emigrate to Maryland, 100.
establish the first English Catholic Church in America, 100.
first in Pennsylvania, 154.
grant religious freedom to all Christians, 101.
are deprived of their rights, 102.
missions, 129.
the, in the different colonies, 153, 154.
Cavaliers, the, in Virginia, 37.
Census, the first (1790), 227.
Census of 1800, 245.
of 1860, 406.
of 1890, 512.
Centennial Exhibition of 1876, 492.
celebrations, 507, 508.
Patent Office, celebration of, 512.
Chambersburg, burning of, 446.
Champlain, the French explore, 128.
Channing, Dr., on slavery, 311.
Charleston, South Carolina, settlement of, 112.
surrenders to the Union army, 457.
Charters, Colonial (see colonies).
Charter Oak, the, 98.
Charter of the Virginia Companies (1606), 28.
Chase, Secretary in Lincoln's Cabinet, 403.
Chatham, Lord (see Pitt).
"Chesapeake," the, and the "Shannon," 270.
Chicago, first settlement at, 319.
Anarchists in, 505.
strike at, 517.
Columbian Exposition at, 515.
Chinese immigration, 502.
Christian Commission, the, 411.
Cincinnati, settlement of, 227.
Civil Service Reform demanded, 495.
Act, 501.
progress in, 521, 523.
Civil War, beginning of the, 402.
uprising of the North, 403.
uprising of the South, 404.
North *vs.* South in the, 405–407.
financial side of, 408.
Union navy in, 408.
Confederate privateers in, 408.
foreign powers in, 410.
Sanitary and Christian Commissions in, 411.
woman's work in the, 411.
object of, 412.
cost of, 461.
loss of life in, 461.
results of, 462–464.
the grand review, 469.
condition of the South after the, 470.
Clark and Lewis, expedition of, 251.
George Rogers, and the West, 197.
Clay, Henry, his American system, or tariff, 280, 296, 315.
Compromise Measures, 291, 364.
advocates War of 1812, 265, 267.
condemnation of slavery, 311.
denunciation of Abolitionists, 314.
letter of, 341.
favors the extension of slavery, 287.
resolutions on slavery, 331.
Clayborne and Ingle, 101, 102.
Cleveland elected President, 503.
administration of, 504–509.
vetoes by, 507.
second election of, 514.
administration of, 515–523.
Clinton, De Witt, and the Erie Canal, 800.
Clinton, General, 175, 184, 195, 196, 206.
Coal comes into use, 228.
Codfisheries, Newfoundland (1497–8), 8, 9; (1600), 27; (1775), 173; (1783), 208.
Coinage, first, 225.

Coinage, New, Act, 489, 490.
Silver, Act, 497, 511.
repealed, 516.
College, Harvard, founded, 74, 158.
William and Mary, 158.
Yale, founded, 96, 158.
University of Pennsylvania, 158.
Columbia, 158.
Brown University, 106, 158.
Dartmouth, 90.
Colonies, Dutch, 42.
English, 18, 28.
French, 16, 17.
Spanish (St. Augustine), 17.
Swedish, 108.
general view of, in 1763, 143–162.
population of, 143.
government of, 145.
laws of, 147.
slavery in, 148.
conflicting interests in, 148.
"Poor Whites" in, 148.
industries in, 150.
commerce, 150.
manufactures, 151.
currency, 151.
roads, 152.
travel, 152.
post-office, 153.
religion, 153.
press, 154.
literature and education, 155–158.
science and art, 158.
discoveries and inventions, 158, 159.
mode of life, 159, 160.
indications of the coming Revolution, 160, 161.
importance of colonial period, 162.
loyalty of, 163.
Colorado, admitted, 493.
Colt's revolver, 324.
Columbia River discovered, 229.
Columbus proposes a new route to the Indies, 4.
voyage to America (1492), 5.
letter of, respecting the New World, 6.
his return to Spain, 6.
what he discovered, 7.
his death, 7.
greatness of his work, 7.
Compromise Measures of 1850, 363.
Missouri, 289, 291.
Crittenden, 393.
Confederacy, New England (1643), 75.
the Southern, organized, 396.
Confederation, Articles of, 209.
provisions of the, 210.
weakness of the, 211.
state of country under the, 211.
attempts of Congress to raise money, 211, 212.
Congregationalists, the, in the colonies, 153, 154.
Congress, First Continental, 171.
Second Continental, 174.
first under the Constitution, 219.
Panama, 303.
Pan-American, 510.
Connecticut, first settlement of, 91.
reasons for settling, 93.
Connecticut, war with the Pequots, 94.
constitution of, 95.
New Haven Colony, 96.
free schools, 96.
Yale University, 96.
regicides, 97.
Andros and the charter of, 97.
New Haven united with, 97.
Charter Oak, 98.
extent of, under its charter, 97.
Constitution, Convention to frame, 214.
conflicting opinions in Convention, 215.
the three great compromises of the, 216.
the new, adopted, 217.
"broad" *vs.* "strict" construction of, 225, 226, 245.
amendments to, 221, 247, 471, 472, 479, 480, 482.
the "elastic article" of, 226.
the "Grand Model," 111.
of Pennsylvania ("Great Law"), 118.
"Contrabands" (fugitive slaves), 426.
Convicts sent to America, 149.
"Copperheads" in the Civil War, 409, 425, 426, 434.
Cornwallis, General, 184, 189, 190, 199, 203, 207–8.
Coronado's expedition, 15.
Correspondence, Committees of, formed (1772–3), 169.
Cortez in Mexico, 13.
Cotton first exported, 229.
gin invented, 229.
effect on slavery, 229.
exhibition at New Orleans, 503.
manufacture first established, 229.
effect of War of 1812 on manufacture of, 279.
crop of 1884, 503.
manufacture in 1890, 519.
Cotton-seed oil, 503.
Covode investigation (note), 389.
Coxey "industrial army," 517.
Crawford Tenure of Office Act, 291.
Crédit Mobilier (note), 482.
Croatoan, 19.
Crystal Palace (1853), 371.
Cuba, attempts on, 381.
Custer, General, killed, 494.

Daguerreotype, introduction of the, 332.
Dale, Governor, in Virginia, 32.
Davenport, Rev. John, 95.
Davis, Jefferson, in Mexican War, 351.
in Congress, 364, 374.
advocates secession, 389.
President of Confederate States, 396.
capture of, 459.
Debt, Hamilton's report on the United States, 222.
funding the, 223.
of the War of 1812, 267, 274.
of the Civil War, 462.
payment of, begun, 469.
Grant on payment of the, 480.
reduction of interest on, 497.
present, of the United States, 498.
Decatur, Commodore, 253.
Declaration of Independence, 185.
De Gourges's revenge, 17.

Delaware, Lord, 31.
Delaware, settled by the Swedes, 108.
seized by the Dutch, 108.
English, 108.
granted to William Penn, 109.
becomes independent, 109.
first State to enter the Union, 109.
Delaware River, Washington crosses the, 188.
De Leon, Ponce, discovers Florida, 12.
Democratic Party (see Parties).
Demonetization of silver, 489-490.
Deposits, Jackson withdraws the, 322.
De Soto, expedition of, 14.
discovers the Mississippi, 14.
is buried in it, 15.
De Vaca, Cabeza, 13.
Diaz, Bartholomew, voyage of (1487), 4.
Dinwiddie, Governor, of Virginia, 40.
Dollar, the, first coined, 225.
demonetized, 489.
remonetized, 497.
demand for free silver, 511, 522.
bullion value of the, 498, 511, 516.
a fiat paper demanded, 493.
Dorr, Rebellion, the, 336.
Douglas, Stephen A., 342, 362, 372, 373, 389, 392, 404.
Dover, N. H., settled, 86.
Draft riots in New York, 434.
Drake, voyage of (1577-1579), 10, 18.
names Pacific coast New Albion, 18.
Dred Scott case, 383, 384.
Duluth, 134.
Dutch, the, in New Netherland (New York), 42.
seize the Delaware country, 56.
dispossessed of New York by the English, 48.
dispossessed of Delaware, 56.

Eads's, Captain, work on the Mississippi, 499.
Early's raid, 446.
Education (see schools and colleges).
Governor Berkeley on, in Virginia, 157.
in the colonies, 155.
beginning of free, in America, 75.
at the West, 301.
at the South since the war, 519.
Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, 156.
Election of Hayes disputed, 494.
Election, presidential (see names of presidents).
Electoral Commission, 494.
Count Act, 506.
Electric telegraph, the, 343, 477.
Electricity, Franklin's discoveries in, 158.
progress in application of, 159, 345.
Eliot's, Rev. John, work among the Indians, 78.
Emancipation, Lincoln's plan of, 427.
in the District of Columbia, 427.
in the Territories, 427.
Lincoln's letter on, 428.
Proclamation of warning, 428.
final Proclamation, 429.
results of, 429.
Embargo, the first, 234.
Act (1807), 258.
results of the, 260.
Emigration to the United States, 333.
from China, restricted, 502.
laws concerning, 502, 507.
Endicott, Governor, 68.
English explorations, early, 18.
attempts to colonize America, 18.
first permanent colony in America, 28.
Episcopalians in Massachusetts, 68, 78, 81, 82, 85, 153.
in the Middle Colonies and the South, 153.
"Era of Good Feeling," 281.
Ericson, Leif, voyages of, 2.
Ericsson invents the screw propeller, 324.
"Monitor," 419.
Erie Canal, 299.
"Essex," the, in the War of 1812, 269.
Ether, Dr. Morton's discovery respecting, 360.
Exchange of prisoners during the Civil War, 430.
Exhibition, first American World's Fair, 371.
the Centennial, 492.
the New Orleans, 503.
World's Columbian, 515.
the Atlanta, 518.
Express system established, 332.

Farragut, Admiral D. G., takes New Orleans, 421.
enters Mobile Bay, 455.
Federalists, the, 225.
fall of the, 243.
Filibusters attempts to seize Cuba and Central America, 381.
Fillmore becomes President, 366.
Finances of the Revolution, 179.
Financial side of the Civil War, 408.
Fires, the Chicago and the Boston, 491.
Fiscal Bank Bill, the, 335.
Fisheries, the Newfoundland (1497-8), 89; (1600), 27; (1775), 173; (1783), 208.
dispute about, 493.
Fitch's steamboat, 254.
Flag, the first American, 182, 193.
first American, on a warship, 91.
the "Star Spangled Banner," 273.
the Confederate, 396.
our present, 193.
Florida, discovery and naming of, 12.
Narvaez in, 13.
De Soto in, 14.
French and Spaniards struggle for, 16, 17.
purchase of, by the United States, 283.
admitted, 342.
Foote, Commodore A. H., 417.
"Force Act" (1809), 259.
(1871), 484.
Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, 245.
Donelson captured by Grant, 416.
Duquesne, 137.
Pitt, now Pittsburgh, 140.
Fisher, capture of, 455.
Monroe garrisoned, 412, 427.
Necessity built by Washington, 137.
Mims, massacre at, 273.
Orange, now Albany, 49.
Moultrie, 184.

Forts, line of French, in the West in the eighteenth century, 184.
France sends expedition to America, 16.
colonies of, in America, 16, 17.
struggle of, with England for America, 128–143.
recognizes American independence, 194.
aid from, in the Revolution, 94, 176, 177, 180, 206, 207.
trouble with, 238.
war with, 240.
sells us Louisiana, 247.
See the French.
Franklin, writings of, 156.
electrical experiments of, 158.
snake, the (Albany Convention), 138.
and the Stamp Act, 166.
negotiates treaty with France, 194.
helps frame the Constitution, 215, 217.
Free Soil Party, 361.
Freedmen, the, 466, 467.
Bureau Bill, 471.
progress made by, 519.
Frémont, J. C., conquers California, 352.
in the Civil War, 415, 427.
nominated for the Presidency, 451.
French, the, explore the St. Lawrence, 16.
the, in Carolina and Florida, 16.
explore and take possession of the West, 128.
found Mobile and New Orleans, 133.
build line of forts in the West, 134.
and Indian Wars, 134–136.
attack on Schenectady, 134.
See France, Huguenots.
Friction matches, 159, 324.
Friends, or Quakers, buy New Jersey, 57, 58.
treaties with the Indians, 118.
in Massachusetts, 76–78.
severely dealt with, 76, 77.
George Fox founds the Society of, 76.
found Pennsylvania, 116.
remonstrance against slavery (1688), 119.
See William Penn.
Frobisher's voyages, 18.
Fugitive-slave law, 227, 338.
of 1850, 366.
enforcement of the, 367.
Fulton's steamboat, 253.

Gadsden, Christopher, of South Carolina, 115.
Gadsden purchase, the, 354.
Gage, General, in Boston, 173.
proclamation, 175.
"Gag-rule," 324, 332.
Garfield elected President, 499.
assassination of, 500.
Garrison publishes the "Liberator," 312.
mobbed, 313.
Gas comes into use, 324.
"Gaspee," the, destroyed, 168.
Gates, General H., 193, 194, 199.
Genet, "Citizen," 232.
George III., accession and policy of, 163.
Georgia, settlement of, 122.
Ogelthorpe in, 122.
Georgia, charter of, 122.
slavery excluded from, 124.
production of silk in, 124.
Savannah settled (1733), 125.
Salzburges, 125.
slavery, Wesleys and Whitefield on, 125, 126.
introduction of negroes and rum, 126.
Ogelthorpe and the Spaniards in, 127.
becomes a royal province, 127.
in the Revolution, 126, 127.
Indian land cessions, 302.
Gettysburg, controversy with the Federal Government, 302.
Lincoln's address at, 437.
Giddings, 338, 366.
Ghent, treaty of, 277.
Gilbert, voyage of Sir H., 18.
Goffe, the regicide, at Hadley, 79.
Gold, discovery of, in California, 357.
effects of, in 1857, 358, 359.
Good Feeling, the Era of, 281.
Good Hope, Cape of, named, 4.
Gorges, Sir F., 86, 87.
Gosnold's expedition, 27.
Governments, colonial (see colonies).
organization of our present, 219.
See Constitution and United States.
"Grand Model," the, 111.
Grant, General U. S., takes Fort Henry, 416.
"unconditional surrender" letter, 417.
takes Fort Donelson, 416.
at Pittsburg Landing, 418.
takes Vicksburg, 438–441.
made General-in-Chief, 443.
and Sherman's "hammering campaign," 444.
in battle of the Wilderness, 445.
sends Sheridan to lay waste the Shenandoah Valley, 447.
takes Petersburg, 459.
in Richmond, 459.
receives Lee's surrender, 460.
elected President, 477.
administration of, 480.
second election of, 489.
death of, 504.
Greeley's, Horace, letter to Lincoln, 428.
nominated for the Presidency, 487, 489.
"Greenback" Party of, the, 493.
"Greenbacks," issue of, 408.
redemption of, in part, 497.
Greene, General N., at the South, 202.
campaign in the Carolinas, 203, 205.

"Hail Columbia," song of, 239.
Halleck, General, 424.
Hamilton, first Secretary of the Treasury, 220.
financial measures of, 222–225.
leads the Federalists, 225, 226.
shot by Burr, 255.
Hancock, John, British attempt to seize, 173.
made President of Congress, 175.
British refuse to offer pardon to, 175.
Hancock, General, at Gettysburg, 436.
Harnden founds the express business, 332.
Harrison, General, at Tippecanoe, 264.
presidential campaign, 334.
elected President, 334.

Harrison, General, death of, 335.
Benjamin, elected President, 508.
administration of, 509.
Hartford Convention (1814), 275.
Harvard University founded, 74.
Hawaii, Republic of, 518.
Hayes elected President, 494.
election of, disputed, 494.
administration of, 445.
Haynes's debate with Webster, 309.
Henry, Patrick, resolutions of, on Committee of Correspondence, 166, 169.
"We must fight," 173.
Henry, the, letters, 265.
Hessians in the Revolution, 177, 188, 189.
Higher law, the, Seward's appeal to, 365.
Hoe's press, 318.
"Holy Experiment," Penn's, 116.
Hood, General J. B., 449, 454.
Hooker, General J., 433, 442.
Hooker, Rev. Thomas, 94, 95.
Hopkins, "Admiral" Esek, 177.
Howe, Admiral, arrives at New York, 186.
Howe, Elias, invents the sewing-machine, 360.
Howe, General, arrives at Boston, 175.
at battle of Bunker Hill, 181.
made commander-in-chief, 182.
is driven from Boston, 184.
sails for Halifax, 184.
arrives at New York, 186.
takes Brooklyn Heights, 188.
drives Washington from New York, 188.
Washington baffles, 191.
sails for Philadelphia, 191.
enters Philadelphia, 191.
is superseded by Clinton, 195.
Howes, the, offer pardon to submissive "rebels," 186.
Hudson, Henry, 42.
Huguenots attempt to settle in America, 16, 17.
settle in Charleston, 112.
illustrious descendants of the, 113.
Hull, Captain Isaac, victory of, 268.
Hull's, William, march to Detroit, 267.
surrender, 267.
Hutchinson, Governor, of Massachusetts, 170, 171, 178.
Mrs. Anne, 73, 74.

Illinois, La Salle in, 131.
admitted, 286.
Immigration to the U. S., 333
Chinese, restricted, 502.
Chinese, prohibited, 507.
Impeachment of President Johnson, 476.
Impressment of American sailors, 234.
Improvement of the Mississippi, 499.
"Improvements, Internal," question of, 252, 292, 297, 298, 303.
Independence, Declaration of, 185.
Indiana conquered by Clark, 251.
part of the N. W. Territory, 210.
admitted, 281.
Indians, why so named, 6.
their character and numbers, 19.
influence on white settlers, 20.
indebtedness of the colonists to the, 20
value of wampum, 21.
Indians, labor of the, 21.
trade with the, 21, 43, 125.
trails and waterways of the, 22.
war with the Pequots, 94.
wars with the, 22.
King Philip's War, 78.
war with, in Virginia, 39.
our relations with the, 23.
land cessions by the, 23, 233, 263, 302, 319.
alliances or treaties with the, 23, 50, 51, 118.
the Iroquois, or Five Nations (later the Six Nations), 23, 43, 51, 113.
Bacon's war with, in Virginia, 39.
war with the Canadians, 52.
the Quakers and the, 56, 118, 120.
the Pilgrims and the, 65.
Roger Williams and the, 73.
the New England Confederacy and the, 75.
Eliot's work among the, 78.
Goff and the, 79.
battle of Narragansett Fort, 80.
wars in North Carolina, 113.
Penn and the, 118.
wars in Pennsylvania, 120.
and the French, 128.
Pontiac's conspiracy, 141.
massacres, by, in Revolution, 197.
Wayne's victory over the, 232.
war with Tecumseh, 263.
Seminole wars, 282, 332.
Black Hawk War, 319.
Modoc War, 494.
Sioux War, 494.
French and Indian War, 136.
Indies, trade with, in fifteenth century, 3.
schemes for reaching the, by sea, 4, 7.
America supposed to be part of the, 67.
West, the, explored by Columbus, 6.
question of trade with the West, 234, 235, 304, 309.
Indigo, culture of, in South Carolina, 113.
"Inflation Bill," the, vetoed, 492.
Ingle, Captain, in Maryland, 102.
Interstate Commerce Act, 506.
Intolerable Acts, the four, 170.
Inventions, American (see cotton-gin, 229; "Monitor," 419; reaper, 324, 372; revolver, 324; screw propeller, 324; sewing-machine, 360; steamboat, 254; steam printing-press, 318; telegraph, 343; telephone, 345, 493; vulcanized rubber, 324).
Iowa admitted, 361.
Ironclads, the, in the Civil War, 419.
Iroquois Indians, 23, 43, 51.
Island Number Ten taken, 418.

Jackson, Andrew, at Tohopeka, 273.
at New Orleans, 276.
and the Seminoles, 282.
elected President, 306.
administration of, 307.
second election of, 322.
Jackson, "Stonewall," 414, 422, 424, 433.
Jamestown, settlement of, 29.
colony of, 30.
burned by Bacon, 40.
Japan, Perry's treaty with, 380.

Jasper, Sergeant, at Fort Moultrie, 184.
Jay, John, 220.
his treaty with England, 235.
Jefferson drafts the Declaration of Independence, 186.
first Secretary of State, 220.
leads the Republicans, 225, 226.
elected President, 243.
administration of, 244.
second election of, 252.
Johnson, Andrew, becomes President, 461.
administration of, 465.
impeached, but acquitted, 475, 476.
Johnston, General A. S., 416.
Johnston, General Joseph E., 414, 422, 439, 443, 448, 449, 457, 460, 470.
Joliet and Marquette's expedition, 129, 130.
voyage down the Mississippi, 130.
Jones, Paul, 91, 198.

Kansas, struggle for possession of, 376.
elections, 378.
Civil War in, 378.
adopts free-state constitution, 379.
admitted, 388.
John Brown in, 377.
Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 372–374.
passage of, 375.
Kaskaskia, George Rogers Clark takes, 197.
"Kearsarge," the, sinks the "Alabama," 455.
Kentucky, first settlement of, by Boone, 115.
admitted, 237.
and Virginia resolutions, 242.
Key writes the "Star Spangled Banner," 273.
"Know-Nothing Party," the, 370.
Knox, General, 183.
Kosciusko in the Revolution, 176.
"Ku Klux Klan," the, 484.

Labor, Knights of, 485.
legislation, 485, 488, 492, 502, 507.
strikes, 496, 505, 517.
troubles at Homestead, 513.
National Bureau established, 502.
Lafayette in the Revolution, 177, 194, 205, 207.
visit to the U. S., 296.
La Salle explores the Mississippi, 131.
takes possession of Louisiana, 132.
Lee, General Charles, in the Revolution, 176, 188, 189, 196.
Lee, Richard Henry, in Congress, 185.
Lee, General Robert E., 423–425, 433–437, 445, 446, 459, 460, 470.
Leisler, Jacob, 51, 52.
"Leopard," the, and the "Chesapeake," 257.
Lewis and Clark's expedition, 251.
Lincoln-Douglas campaign, 389.
Lincoln, election of, 391–393.
inaugural speech of, 401.
administration of, 401–460.
calls for 75,000 volunteers, 403.
scheme of compensated emancipation, 427.
emancipates the slaves, 429, 430.
second election of, 451.
Lincoln, assassination of, 460.
Literature, colonial, 155.
rise of modern American, 318.
influence of Helpers "Impending Crisis" and "Uncle Tom's Cabin," 368.
"Little Belt" beaten by the "President," 264.
Locomotive, Stephenson's, 316.
Cooper's, 316.
London Company, the, 28.
Louisburg taken, 135.
Louisiana, origin of the name, 132.
purchase of, 247–250.
explored by Lewis and Clarke, 251.
admitted, 281.
progress since the war, 503.
Lyon, General N., in Missouri, 271.

Macdonough's victory, 271.
Machinery, American labor-saving, 372, 492, 523.
See inventions.
Madison elected President, 261.
administration of, 262.
second election of, 269.
See slavery and secession.
Magellan names the Pacific, 13.
voyage of (1519–21), 10, 13.
Maine, liquor law, the, 304.
Maine, settlement of, 87.
admitted, 290.
Marion, General, 203.
Marquette's explorations, 129, 130.
voyage down the Mississippi, 130.
Marshall, Chief-Justice, 243.
Maryland settled by Catholics, 99.
George Calvert, 99.
charter, 99.
laws, 99.
political and religious liberty in, 100.
toleration, 100.
Clayborne, 101.
Captain Ingle, 102.
Catholics of, deprived of their rights, 102.
becomes a royal province, 103.
Church of England, 103.
Mason and Dixon's line, 121.
Mason and Gorges, 86, 87.
Mason and Slidell, capture of, 415.
Massachusetts (Plymouth) settled, 60.
Puritans and Separatists, 60, 61.
Separatists escape to Holland, 62.
Pilgrims and Indians, 65.
Pilgrim Republic, 65.
freedom of worship, 65.
government, 65, 66.
"merchant adventurers," 62, 66, 67.
Myles Standish, 67.
united with Massachusetts, 67.
Bay Colony, settlement of, 68.
the Puritan emigration to New England, 68.
John Endicott, 68.
charter of, 68.
John Winthrop, 69.
settlement of Boston (1630), 69.
Puritan church, 69.
Puritan rule in, 69, 70.

Massachusetts, suffrage in, 70.
establishment of House of Representatives (1634), 71.
resistance to the king, 72.
Roger Williams, 72, 73.
Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, 73, 74.
education in colony, 74.
Boston Latin School (1635), 74.
Harvard College (1636), 75.
public schools (1647), 75.
New England Confederacy (1643), 75.
George Fox, 76.
Quaker missionaries in, 76, 77.
Eliot's work among the Indians, 78.
"King Philip's" War, 78–80.
the charter, 81.
the new charter, 83.
Salem witchcraft, 83, 84.
Forest Laws, 85.
Navigation Laws revived, 85.
Massasoit, treaty with Governor Carver, 65.
Maximilian in Mexico, 479.
"Mayflower," sailing of the, 64.
McClellan, General, G. B., 412.
made General-Commander, 414.
drills the army, 415.
campaigns of, 421–425.
McCormick reaper, the, 324.
McDowell, General I., 413.
McKinley, William, elected President, 522.
Meade, General, G. G., 435.
Menendez in Florida, 16, 17.
"Merrimac," the, destroys the "Cumberland" and the "Congress," 419.
and the "Monitor," 419.
Mexican War, the, 349.
results of, 352.
See battles.
Michigan admitted, 325.
Millerites, the, or Second Adventists, 329.
Minnesota admitted, 388.
Mint, United States, established, 225.
Minuit, Governor, of New Netherland, 44.
"Minute men," the, of Revolution, 173.
Mississippi discovered by De Soto, 14.
explored by the French, 128.
voyage down, by Marquette and Joliet, 130.
La Salle explores, 131.
Company, 133.
opening of, in the Civil War, 441.
deepening the mouth of, 499.
Mississippi, State of, admitted, 286.
Missouri Compromise, the first, 289.
Jefferson's and John Quincy Adams's opinions of, 290.
the second, 291.
Compromise repealed, 291.
admission of the State, 291.
Mobile founded (1702), 133.
Farragut enters harbor of, 455.
Modoc War, the, 494.
Money, paper, of Revolution, 179.
just after the Revolution, 213.
decimal system of coinage, 225.
of State banks worthless, 322.
in the Civil War, 408.
See U. S. Bank.
of national banks, 408.
silver demonetized, 490
Money, silver remonetized, 497.
Bland-Allison Silver Act, 497.
resumption of specie payments, 498.
the Sherman Silver Act, 510.
repeal of Sherman Silver Act, 516.
demand for free silver, 521.
See dollar and silver.
"Monitor," the, and the "Merrimac," 419.
Monroe Doctrine, the, 293.
Monroe elected President, 281.
administration of, 281.
Montana admitted, 510.
Montgomery's expedition against Montreal and Quebec, 182, 183.
Morgan, General Daniel, 194, 203.
Mormons, rise of the, 329.
emigrate to Utah, 330.
rebellion of the, 387.
Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act, 501.
Edmunds-Tucker Act, 506.
Church of, *vs.* U. S. Supreme Court, 513.
renounce polygamy, 513.
Morris, Robert, what he did for Washington, 190, 206.
Morristown, Washington's terrible winter at, 202.
Morse's electric telegraph, 343.
Morton, Dr., discovers etherization, 360.
Moultrie, Fort, 184.
Murfreesboro', battle of, 432.

Napoleon, Decrees of, 257.
Narvaez, expedition of, 13.
Nashville, battle of, 454.
National banks established, 408.
National Road, the, 253, 292.
Natural gas, 387.
Naturalization Act of 1798, 240.
Navigation Laws, 37.
revived, 85.
Navy, first American, 177.
increase of, 239.
in 1812, 266, 267.
our new, 507.
Nebraska admitted, 473.
Negro slavery, introduction of, 33, 35, 36.
suffrage in the District of Columbia, 472.
slaves emancipated, 429.
troops in the Civil War, 430.
See slavery.
Negro, the, and reconstruction, 466–469, 471, 472, 474, 479, 480, 482.
becomes a lawmaker, 474, 483.
in Congress, 482.
the, and the amendments to the Constitution, 471, 472, 474, 479, 480, 482.
and the "Ku Klux Klan," 484.
and the Carpet-Baggers, 483.
See freedmen and slavery.
progress of, since the war, 519.
Neutrality, proclamation of, 230.
Nevada, discovery of silver in, 385.
admitted, 450.
New Amsterdam (New York), 44.
New England Confederacy, origin of name, 75.
Newfoundland codfisheries (see codfisheries).
New Hampshire, settlement of, 86.
Gorges and Mason, 87.

New Hampshire, religious opinions, 87.
becomes a royal province, 88.
Londonderry settled (1719), 89.
manufacture of linen, 89.
Dartmouth College, 90.
dispute between New York and, 90.
Vermont, 90, 91.
Paul Jones, 91.
New Haven, the republic of, 95.
New Jersey, the Dutch claim, 56.
the English take possession, 56.
the name, 56.
Elizabethtown founded (1665), 57.
Quakers in, 57, 58.
William Penn, 57.
government, 58.
religion, 58.
Andros in, 59.
Witherspoon, 59.
New Mexico, conquest of, 354.
New Netherland (New York), 42.
New Orleans founded (1718), 133.
battle of (1815), 276.
taken by Farragut, 421.
Exposition (1884), 503.
Newspaper, the first, published in America, 154, 155.
first cheap, in America, 318.
New York, settlement of, by the Dutch, 43.
patroon system of, 44.
treatment of Quakers, 47.
England takes, 48.
the Duke's Laws, 49.
Governor Andros and, 50.
French attack, 51, 52.
treatment of Catholics in, 53.
freedom of the press in, 53.
protests against taxation without consent of the Assembly, 164.
contest of people with the colonial governors, 55.
in the Revolution, 167, 169, 178, 182, 186, 192–194.
Non-Intercourse Act, 260.
North Carolina, colony of, established, 113.
See Carolina.
North Dakota admitted, 510.
Northmen, discovery of America by the, 1.
the, and American history, 2.
Northwest Territory, cession of, 209.
ordinance for government of, 209.
Nullification in Kentucky and Virginia, 242.
in South Carolina, 314, 315.
Calhoun defends, 315.
Oglethorpe colonizes Georgia, 122.
and the Spaniards, 127.
Ohio Company, the, 227.
Ohio, first settlement of, 227.
opened, 233.
admitted to the Union, 247.
Oil, petroleum, discovered, 386.
Oklahoma, opening of, 509.
"Omnibus Bill," the, 365.
Onate's expedition, 16.
Orders in Council, British, 257.
Ordinance for government of the N. W. Territory (1787), 209.
Oregon, how we got, 346.
admitted, 388.
Osceola, 332.
Ostend, Manifesto, the, 380.
Otis, James, 165, 166, 167, 168.

Pacific named by Magellan, 13.
coast explored by Spaniards, 13.
Balboa discovers the, 13.
search for the, by the colonists, 30.
territory acquired on the, 354.
railroad completed, 480.
effects of, 481.
Paine's "Common Sense," 185.
Pan-American Congress, 510.
Panics, business and financial, of 1818–19, 284.
1837, 325–337.
1857, 385.
1873, 490.
1893, 515.
1894, 517.
Paper money (see money).
Parties, political, rise of (1792), 225.
in general, 217, 225, 230, 236, 243, 244, 245, 252, 260, 269, 279, 292, 297, 303, 306, 322, 324, 334, 340, 341, 361, 369, 370, 376, 381, 382, 391, 450, 451, 476, 483, 487, 488, 492, 493, 494, 498, 499, 502, 503, 508, 514, 521, 522.
American, or "Know Nothing," 370, 381.
"Anti-Dorrites," 337.
Anti-Federalist, 215, 217, 225.
Anti-Masonic, 303.
Anti-Monopolist (note), 493.
Anti-Renters, 337.
"Barnburners," 361.
"Bell-Everett," 392.
"Black Republicans," 376.
"Broad Gaugers" (note), 488.
Constitutional-Union, 392.
Democratic-Republican, 225, 230, 236, 243, 281, 284, 297.
Democratic, 225, 303, 322, 325.
"Dorrites," 337.
"Farmers' Alliance," 492.
Federalist, 215, 217, 225, 230, 236, 243, 244, 245, 276, 281, 284.
Free Soil, 361, 369.
Free Suffrage, 337.
Free State, 376.
"Gold Democrats," 522.
"Grangers," 492.
"Greenback," 493.
"Half-Breeds" (note), 498.
"Hunkers," 361.
Independent, 493.
Independent Republicans, 503.
"Know Nothing," 370, 381.
Labor, 487.
Labor Reform, 488.
Liberal Republicans, 487.
Liberty, 334, 340, 361.
"Locofocos," 325.
"Mugwumps" (note), 503.
National Democrats, 522.
National Republicans, 225, 303, 322
"Peace Democrats," 451.
People's Party, 514, 522.
"Populists," 492, 522.
Prohibitionist, 488.
Radical Republicans, 451.

Parties, Reform Democrats, 325.
Republican (first), 225.
Republican (second), 225, 376.
"Sons of the South," 376.
"Stalwarts" (note), 498.
"Straight-out Democrats," 488.
"War Democrats," 451, 465.
Whig, 225, 303, 325, 371.
Patent Office Centennial, 512.
Patroons, the, 44.
Peace Party, the, in the Civil War, 409, 425, 426, 434.
Pemberton, General J. C., at Vicksburg, 439.
Penn, William, 57.
purchases Delaware, 109.
Pennsylvania granted to, 116.
treaty with the Indians, 118.
Pennsylvania, grant of, to Penn, 116.
charter of, 116.
"Frame of Government," 117.
"Great Law," 118.
Philadelphia founded (1682), 118.
treaty with the Indians, 118.
growth of Philadelphia, 118.
Quakers in, 119, 120.
iron and coal mines in, 119.
"Mason and Dixon's" line, 121.
Pensions Dependent Bill vetoed, 507.
passed, 510.
Perry's victory on Lake Erie, 270, 271.
Commodore, treaty with Japan, 380.
Petersburg, siege of, 446.
surrender of, 459.
Petroleum discovered in Pennsylvania, 386.
Philadelphia founded, 118.
growth of, 119.
Philip's, King, War, 78–80.
Pierce, elected President, 371.
administration of, 371–382.
Pilgrims, or Separatists, the, 60–62.
leave England for Holland, 61, 62.
sail for America, 63, 64.
reasons for emigrating to America, 62.
draw up a compact, 64.
settle at Plymouth, 64.
and the Indians, 65.
mode of government, 65.
Pitt, William (Lord Chatham), 140.
management of the French and Indian War, 140.
defends the resistance of the colonists, 167.
Pittsburg, origin of name of, 140.
Plymouth Colony founded, 64.
absorbed by Massachusetts, 67.
See Pilgrims.
Plymouth Company chartered, 27, 28.
Polk elected President, 341.
administration of, 345–361.
Polygamy, Mormon, 330.
the Edmunds Act against, 501.
the Edmunds-Tucker Act against, 506.
condemned by the U. S. Supreme Court, 513.
renounced by the Mormons, 513.
Ponce de Leon and Florida, 12.
Pontiac's conspiracy, 141.
Pope, General John, 418, 424.
Pope, the division of the world by the, 6.
the, and the Civil War, 410.
Popham Colony, Maine, 87.
"Popular Sovereignty" proposed by Clay, 331.
advocated by Cass, 362.
ridiculed by Calhoun, 362.
advocated by Douglas, 362.
in Clay's Compromise Measures, 364.
applied to Utah and New Mexico, 372.
to Kansas and Nebraska, 373–376.
extreme Southern men oppose, 374.
Republican Party condemn, 382.
Population in 1763, 143.
1775, 176.
1790, 227.
1800, 245.
1860, 406.
1890, 512.
"Populists," the, in politics, 514.
See parties.
Port Hudson taken, 441.
Porter, Admiral D. D., at New Orleans, 421.
at Vicksburg, 439.
at Fort Fisher, 456.
at City Point, 458.
Portsmouth, N. H., settled, 86.
Postage in colonial times, 153.
cheap (1845-83), 355.
postal-cards introduced, 490.
Potato, discovery of the, 19.
Presidential Succession Act, 506.
Press, freedom of the, restricted in the colonies, 154.
established by Zenger, 53, 155.
defined by Judge McKean, 241.
vs. the Sedition Act, 240, 241.
"Prince Henry the Navigator," 4.
Printing-press, the, in the colonies, 53, 154, 155.
Hoe's steam cylinder, 318.
Prisoners of War of the Revolution, 431.
of the Civil War, 430.
Privateers in the Revolution.
in the War of 1812, 269.
in the Civil War, 408.
Prohibition in Maine and other States, 304.
Providence settled, 104.
Public schools established in the colonies, 75, 96, 157.
Puritans, origin of the, 60.
vs. Separatists, 60.
emigration to New England, 68.
religious ideas of the, 69.
the, settle Massachusetts, 68.
their colony, 69.
mode of government, 69.
the "freemen's" oath, 70.
purpose of the, 71.
in Maryland, 101, 102.
Putnam, General Israel, 174, 181, 187.
General Rufus, 183.

Quakers (see Friends).
Quebec, the French at, 129.
Phips's expedition against, 135.
expedition of 1711 against, 136.
taken by Wolfe, 140.
Montgomery's expedition against, 183.
Arnold's expedition against, 183.
Quebec Act, the, 171.

Railroad, the first in America, 316.
effects of, 317, 346.
destruction of, in the Civil War, 453.
the first transcontinental, 480.
effects of, 481, 482.
mileage of, and capital invested in, in 1896, 318.
Raleigh sends expedition to America, 18.
attempts to colonize, 18, 19.
what he accomplished, 19.
Reaper, the, and the mower, 324, 372.
Reconstruction begun, 467.
Johnson's plan of, 468.
Congress's plan of, 468.
Act, 474.
Congress and the President.
completed, 482.
Regicides, the, 96.
Religious liberty for all persons in Rhode Island, 106.
for all Christians in Maryland, 100.
for all believers in God in Pennsylvania, 118.
Congress not to interfere with, 221.
not recognized by the Puritans, 68, 71, 76.
degrees of, in the colonies generally, 153, 154.
America first to establish complete, 106, 523.
Remonetization of silver (see dollar and silver).
Removals from office, Jackson's, 307.
Republican Party, first of that name, 225.
modern origin of, 376.
See parties.
Resumption of specie payment, 492.
Revenue of the United States, 1790 *vs.* 1897, 221.
Revere's, Paul, ride, 171, 173.
Review, grand military, at the close of the war, 469.
Revolution, the, indications of the coming, 160.
chief cause of the, 163.
"Writs of Assistance," 164.
Stamp Act, 165.
Patrick Henry's resolutions, 166.
Stamp Act Congress, 166.
"Sons of Liberty," 167.
Pitt defends the colonies, 167.
the Townshend Law, 167.
"Boston Massacre," 168.
Governor Tryon, 168.
destruction of the "Gaspee," 168.
Committees of Correspondence formed, 169.
tax on tea, 169.
Boston "Tea Party," the, 170.
"four intolerable acts," 170, 171.
unity of the colonies, 171.
First Continental Congress, 171.
Parliament retaliates, 172.
action of Massachusetts, 173.
General Gage's expedition, 173.
battles of (see battles).
Second Continental Congress, 174.
Gage's proclamation, 175.
Washington made Commander-in-Chief, 175.
Revolution, opposing armies in, 176.
American navy and privateers, 177.
foreign aid in the, 176, 177.
Loyalists, or Tories, 178.
finances of the, 179–181.
Washington takes command, 182.
expedition against Canada, 182, 183.
Arnold's expedition, 183.
Paine's "Common Sense," 185.
Declaration of Independence, 185.
Howe offers pardon to "rebels," 186.
Washington driven out of New York, 188.
retreat across New Jersey, 188.
Robert Morris in the, 189.
plans of Lord Germain, 191.
Burgoyne's expedition, 191–194.
treaties with France, 194.
England sends peace commissioners, 195.
Lee's treachery, 196.
prospects of the (1778), 196.
expedition of George Rogers Clark, 197.
Captain Paul Jones, 198.
Arnold's treason, 200.
Greene, General, takes command in the South, 202.
retreat of Cornwallis, 204.
Cornwallis ravages Virginia, 205.
Cornwallis retires to Yorktown, 205.
fall of Yorktown, 207.
effect in England, 208.
peace declared, 208.
Revolver, Colt's, 324.
Rhode Island, settlement of, 104.
government of, 105.
charter of, 106.
entire religious liberty in, 106.
spirit of independence in, 107.
Ribaut, Jean, 16, 17.
Rice, cultivation of, in South Carolina, 112.
Richmond, the Confederate capital, 459.
capture of, 459.
"Ring," the "Boss Tweed," 491.
the Whiskey, 491.
the Erie, 491.
Riots, draft in the Civil War, 434.
strike at Pittsburg, 496.
strike at Chicago, 505, 517.
Road, the Cumberland, or National, 299, 301.
Rolfe, John, 32.
Rosecrans, General W. S., 432, 441, 442.
"Rule of 1756," 256.

St. Augustine founded (1565), 17.
St. Louis included in the Louisiana purchase, 249, 251, 286.
Salem, Mass., settled, 68.
witchcraft, 83, 84.
Sanitary Commission in the Civil War, 411.
Santa Fé founded (1605), 16.
Savannah settled, 125.
taken by the British, 199.
taken by Sherman, 454.
"Savannah," the, first ocean steamship, 284.
Schenectady attacked by savages, 67.
Schools, public, established in Massachusetts, 75.
Boston Latin School, 74.
established in Connecticut, 96,

Schools, public, established in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, 157.
Governor Berkeley on, in Virginia, 157.
at the South, 157.
in the West, 301.
See public schools and education.
Schuyler, General P., 182, 192, 193.
Scotch-Irish emigrants, 41, 89, 145.
Scott, General W., in War of 1812, 266, 272.
in the war with Mexico, 350–352.
in the Civil War, 402, 412, 413.
retires, 414.
Search, right of, claimed by England, 257, 258, 264, 266, 278.
Secession or disunion, fears of (1783–7), 211.
threats of, in the Southwest (1787), 214.
fears of disunion in 1792, 230.
Washington's farewell address on (1796), 236.
the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (1798–9), 242.
fears of, in 1800, 246.
plot of ultra Northern Federalists (1803), 250.
Burr's conspiracy (1804), 255.
feared by John Quincy Adams (1809), 261.
threatened by Quincy (1811), 250.
the Hartford Convention accused of plot of (1814), 275.
the "Richmond Enquirer" condemns as treason (1814), 275.
the South threatens, in 1819, 287, 291.
Webster on danger of, in 1828, 306.
Hayne defends the right of (1830), 310.
Webster denies the right of (1830), 310.
Calhoun declares "Liberty dearer than Union" (1830), 310.
Jackson stands by the Union (1830), 310.
threatened by South Carolina (1832), 315.
feared by John Quincy Adams (1833), 314.
Jackson's attitude toward (1833), 315, 316.
Jackson predicts (1833), 316.
advocated by Garrison's "Liberator" (1843), 313.
annexation of Texas (1843), 340.
fears of, in 1844, 341.
foreshadowed by split in the churches (1845), 365.
agitation of, in 1846, 356.
threatened by Southern members of Congress in 1849, 363.
Calhoun on, in 1850, 364.
Webster on, in 1850, 365, 367.
threatened, in 1854, 374.
Rufus Choate on, in 1856, 382.
Governor Wise on, in 1856, 382.
threatened by the South in 1857, 385.
foreshadowed by Yancey's "Scarlet Letter" (1858), 388.
Lincoln on (1858), 389.
effect of the John Brown raid on (1859), 391.
predicted by Alexander Stephens (1860), 392.
South Carolina prepares to secede (1860), 393.
Secession or disunion, Alexander Stephens protests against (1860), 394.
Pollard on action of South Carolina (1860), 394.
South Carolina secedes (1860), 394.
reasons for (1860), 395.
Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas secede (1860–61), 395.
Mississippi on the object of (1861), 395.
why Georgia seceded (1861), 395.
slavery the true cause of, 397.
the war of, begun (1861), 403.
secession of Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee (1861), 405.
mistakes of the Secessionists, 405.
object of the war, 412.
the principle of, destroyed, 463.
the New South and, 470.
Sedition Law, the, 240.
Seminole War, first, 282.
second, 332.
Separatists, the, or Pilgrims, *vs.* the Puritans, 60.
escape to Holland, 62.
why they wished to emigrate to America, 62.
they emigrate and settle Plymouth, 63, 64.
See Pilgrims.
Sevier, John, 115.
Seward, William H., 364, 365, 375, 380, 384, 400, 402, 416, 426, 469.
Sewing-machine invented, 360.
Shays's Rebellion, 212, 213.
Shenandoah Valley, Jackson in, 422.
Sheridan's raid in, 447.
Sheridan, General P. H., raid in the Shenandoah Valley, 447.
ride to Cedar Creek, 448.
at battle of Winchester, 448.
cuts off supplies from Richmond, 459.
Sherman, General W. T., at Pittsburg Landing, 418.
at Vicksburg, 432.
at Chattanooga, 442.
raid on Meridian, 443.
in the "Hammering Campaign," 444.
advance of, on Atlanta, 448.
takes Atlanta, 449.
march to the sea, 452.
takes Savannah, 454.
march northward, 456.
surrender of Johnston to, 460.
Silver, scarcity of, in 1786, 212.
first coinage of, 225.
found in Nevada and Colorado, 385, 386.
demonetized, 489.
remonetized, 497.
Bland-Allison Act, 497.
the Sherman Silver Act, 510.
repeal of the Sherman Act, 516.
demand for free, 522.
See dollar and coinage.
Six Nations, or Iroquois (see Indians).
Slavery introduced into America, 35.
spreads into all the colonies, 35.
attempts to check importation of slaves, 35.

Slavery, remonstrance of Quakers against, in 1688, 119.
Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin on, 36, 149.
Wesley and Whitefield on, 126.
introduced into Georgia, 126.
in the colonies, effects of, 148.
debate in the Constitutional Convention on, 215, 216.
first Congressional debate on, 227.
effects of the cotton-gin on, 230.
extension of, opposed, 249.
effect of purchase of Louisiana on, 250.
discussion of the western extension of, 285.
Judge Story, on the slave-trade, 286.
how it divided the country, 286.
the Missouri Compromise, 289–291.
Clay and Channing on, 311.
Garrison attacks, 312.
the Nat Turner insurrection, 312.
Clay and Calhoun defend, 314.
J. Q. Adams on, 314.
Emerson and Seward on, 314.
formation of Abolition societies, 312.
it endangers the Union, 314.
Jackson on, 316.
Petitions against, in Congress, 324.
in the District of Columbia, 326.
agitation in Congress, 331.
and the annexation of Texas, 339–342.
and the Wilmot Proviso, 355, 356.
Calhoun on, 356.
the question of, in 1850, 362, 366.
the fugitive-slave law of 1793, 227.
decision of U. S. Supreme Court respecting, 338.
the new (1850), 366.
Personal Liberty Laws *vs.*, 367.
enforcement of, 367.
enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Act, 368.
the "Underground Railroad," 368.
slaves rescued, 368.
"Uncle Tom's Cabin," 368.
Helper's "Impending Crisis," 369.
Kansas-Nebraska Act, 372–376.
struggle in Kansas over, 376–379.
Sumner denounces, 379.
assault on Sumner, 380.
Republican Party and, 382.
Dred Scott decision, 383, 384.
Lincoln and Douglas debates on, 389.
John Brown's raid, 390.
secession and, 395.
called "the corner-stone of our Republican edifice" (1835), 314.
the corner-stone of the Southern Confederacy, 396.
the true cause of the War of Secession, 397.
Butler, General, and the "contrabands," 426.
the Emancipation Proclamation, 426.
the constitutional amendments and, 470, 472, 482.
progress of the South since the abolition of, 503, 518.
See Abolitionists; anti-slavery; secession; the negro; the Fugitive-Slave Act.
Smith, Captain John, 29.
Socialism, tendencies to, 522.
Socialistic experiments, 328.
"Sons of Liberty," 167, 171.
Soto, De (see De Soto).
South Carolina (see Carolina).
nullification in, 314.
secession of, 394.
negro rule in, 483.
South Dakota admitted, 510.
Spaniards, the, in Florida, 13–18, 127, 282, 283.
See Florida.
Specie circular, the, 323.
payments, resumption of, 489, 492, 498.
Spiritualism, rise of, 331.
"Spoils System," the, 309, 495, 501.
See Civil Service Reform.
Stamp Act, the proposed, 165.
passage of the act, 166.
the Stamp Act Congress, 166.
Pitt on the, 167.
the repealed, 167.
Standish, Myles, Captain, 64.
goes to England, 67.
"Star of the West" fired on, 396.
"Star Spangled Banner," the (song of), 272.
Stark, General, 89.
State Rights or State Sovereignty, doctrine of, 242, 309, 315, 395, 463.
See secession.
States admitted (see names of).
Steamboat, Fitch's, 253.
Fulton's, 253.
effects of the, 253.
Steamship, the first ocean, 284.
first line established, 333.
Stephens, Alexander H., 392, 394, 396, 470.
Steuben, Baron, 177.
Strike, great railroad, 496.
the Pullman, or Chicago, 517.
at Homestead, 513.
Stuyvesant, Governor, 46.
Suffrage restricted in colonial times, 33, 70, 146.
manhood, 245, 247.
negro, granted, 472–474.
woman, demanded, 357.
woman, granted in certain States, 510.
Sumner, Charles, 366.
assault on, 379.
Sumter, Fort, taken, 403.
Supreme Court, the U. S., organized, 220.
importance of, 220.
decisions of Chief-Justice Marshall, 243.
decision of, on the U. S. Bank, 320.
respecting Fugitive-Slave Act of 1793, 338.
in the Dred Scott Case, 383.
on the States and the Union, 463, 468, 475.
on legal-tender, 493.
respecting the Mormons, 502, 513.
respecting the income tax, 518.

Tariff, the first (1790), 220, 221.
of 1816, 280.
of 1824, 296.
"of Abominations" (1828), 305.
of 1832, 314.

Tariff, South Carolina nullifies the, 314.
and nullification, 315.
the "Compromise," of 1833, 316.
of 1842, 343.
the Morrill, or war tariff of 1861, 408.
of 1883, 502.
the Mills Bill (1885), 505.
the McKinley (1890), 510.
the Wilson-Gorman (1894), 518.
in politics, 521.
Taylor, General, in the Mexican War, 349, 350.
elected President, 361.
administration of, 362.
death of, 366.
Taxation, England claims the right to tax the colonies, 117, 167.
the colonies protest against, 163, 164.
the Stamp Act, resistance to, 165–167.
the tax on tea, 169.
the chief cause of the Revolution, 163, 164.
under the Confederation, 211, 212.
first, under the Constitution, 220.
the income tax, 518.
decision against, by the U. S. Supreme Court, 518.
Tecumseh's conspiracy, 263, 264.
Telegraph, the electric, 343.
Atlantic cable, 477, 478.
Telephone, the, 345.
Temperance cause, the, 304.
Tennessee admitted, 237.
readmitted, 473.
Tenure of Office Act, the Crawford, 291.
Territories, the first ceded to the U. S., 209.
the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, 209.
slavery abolished in the (1862), 428.
See slavery; Louisiana; Florida; California; Alaska.
Texas, emigration to, 293.
annexation of, 339–342.
and the Mexican War, 348.
admitted, 361.
Thomas, General G. H., 442, 454.
Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen takes, 174.
Tildon-Hayes, the presidential contest, 494.
Tobacco in Virginia, 19.
cultivation of, begun, 32.
effects of, 33.
Toleration, religious (see religious liberty).
Tories of the Revolution, 178.
Town-meeting, government by, 65, 70, 146.
Trade with the Indies, 3.
with the West Indies (see Indies).
Treasury, independent, proposed, 328.
established, 355.
Treaty of England and France (1763), 141, 142.
with France (1778), 194.
of peace (1783), 208.
the Jay (1795), 234.
with Algiers, 236.
with Spain, 236.
of Ghent (1814), 277.
Commercial (1824–29), 304.
Webster-Ashburton (1842), 337.
Oregon (1846), 348.
with Mexico (1848), 354.
Treaty, with Japan (1854), 380.
Burlingame, with China (1868), 380.
Washington (1871), 486.
Arbitration (Venezuela) (1896), 521.
Arbitration, general pending (1897), 521.
"Trent" affair, the, 415.
Tripoli, war with, 253.
Tryon, Governor, 113.
Turner, Nat, insurrection, 312.
Tyler, becomes President, 335.
contest with Congress, 336.
his numerous vetoes, 335.
labors for the annexation of Texas, 340.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin," 368.
"Underground Railroad," the, 368.
Union, the, how formed, 186, 209–211, 214–218, 221.
vs. "State Rights," 212, 226, 242, 309, 315.
See secession.
what Daniel Webster did for the, 310.
Jackson's determination to maintain, 315, 316.
how threatened by slavery (see slavery).
the war for, inevitable, 397.
what the Civil War decided respecting the, 463.
United States, independence declared, 185.
acknowledged by France, 194.
acknowledged by Great Britain, 208.
Confederation, the Articles of, 209, 210.
Constitution of, framed and adopted, 214–217.
government of, organized (1789), 219.
Revolutionary debt, provisions for paying, 222.
first census (1790), 227.
first tariff, 220.
bank of, the first, 224.
the second, 279.
Mint established, first coinage, 225.
the, in 1801, 245.
material obstacles to Union, 245.
acquisition of territory, 247, 283, 341, 347, 354.
the first steamboat, 253.
the Erie Canal, 299.
the first railroad, 316.
the first telegraph, 343.
the first system of national banks established, 408.
wars of (see wars).
treaties of (see treaties).
political parties in (see parties).
slavery in (see slavery).
War of Secession and results, 403, 463.
Civil Service Reform in, 521.
growth of (see population), 523.
the, at the present time, 523.
Universities (see colleges and education).
Utah, Mormons in (see Mormons), 330.
admission of, 521.

Van Buren elected President, 325.
administration of, 325–355.
Van Rensselaer estates, 45.
Venezuela question, the, 520.
Venice, trade of, with the Indies, 3.
Vermont organized, 91.

Vermont, admitted (1791), 237.
Vespucius, Americus, voyages of (1499-1503), 9.
America named from (1507), 9, 10.
Veto, Jackson's use of the, 321, 324.
Johnson's use of the, 471-473.
Cleveland's use of the, 506, 507.
other instances of use of, 497.
Vicksburg, siege and capture of, 440, 441.
Vinland, 2.
Virginia, Raleigh sends expedition to, 17.
named by Queen Elizabeth, 18.
colony planned, 27.
charter, first (1606), 28.
second (1609), 30.
third (1612), 32.
settlement of, at Jamestown, 29.
government of, 29, 33.
Catholics not to enter, 31.
tobacco, cultivation of, 32.
House of Burgesses established, 33.
slavery introduced into, 35.
importation of women, 36.
loses part of her territory, 37.
loses all of her territory, 38.
cavaliers in, 37.
Navigation Laws hurt trade of, 37.
Bacon Rebellion in, 39.
spirit of independence in, 41.
R. H. Lee of, moves Declaration of Independence, 42.
"Virginia," the (or "Merrimac"), and the "Monitor," 419.
Vote, right to, restricted in colonial times (see Australian ballot).
See suffrage.

War, the Pequot (1637), 94.
King Philip's (1675), 78-80.
with France for the possession of America (1689-1736), 134-136.
results of, 142.
King William's (1689), 134.
Queen Anne's (1702), 135.
King George's (1744), 135.
French and Indian (1754), 136.
Revolutionary, the (1775), 163.
with the Ohio Indians (1794), 233.
with France (1798), 240.
with Tripoli (1801), 253.
with Tecumseh (1811), 264.
with England (1812), 265.
American army and navy in, 266.
New England's opposition to the, 274.
results of the, 278.
with the Creeks (1814), 273.
First Seminole (1818), 282.
Black Hawk (1832), 319.
Second Seminole (1837), 332.
Mexican (1846), 349.
the Civil (1861), 402.
cost of the, 461.
loss of life in, 461.
results of, 462.
Modoc (1872), 494.
Sioux (1876), 494.
See battles.
Warren, General Joseph, 182.
Washington sent a messenger to the French, 137.
his interest in the West, 227.
accompanies Braddock, 139.
helps take Fort Duquesne, 137.
made Commander-in-Chief, 175.
takes command of army, 182.
enters Boston, 183.
at New York, 186.
saves Putnam and his army, 187.
retreats northward, 188.
crosses the Delaware, 188.
victory at Trenton, 189.
Princeton, 190.
worries Howe, 190.
at Brandywine, 191.
at Germantown, 192.
at Valley Forge, 192.
at Monmouth, 195.
at Yorktown, 207.
and the Constitutional Convention, 215.
elected President, 218.
inauguration of, 219.
Cabinet organized, 220.
the Supreme Court organized, 220.
the first tariff, 220.
second election of, 230.
farewell address of, 236.
death of 243.
centennial of inauguration, 510.
Washington the national capital, 223, 243.
taken by the British, 272.
Washington admitted, 510.
Wautauga, settlement on the, 115.
Wayne, "Mad Anthony," in the Revolution, 198.
victory over the Indians, 233.
Webster on the Constitution and the Union, 309.
our debt to, 310.
and the Ashburton Treaty, 337.
and the fugitive-slave law, 366, 367.
his horror of secession, 365.
Webster, Noah, dictionary of, 318.
Wesley, John and Charles, 125.
West, Benjamin, the artist, 158.
West, Washington's interest in the (1790), 227.
emigration to, 301.
growth of the, 481, 520.
the, to-day, 520.
West Virginia organized, 405.
admitted, 405.
Whigs of the Revolution, 178.
rise of the modern, 225, 325.
victory of, in 1840, 334.
death of the, 369.
See political parties.
Whiskey rebellion (1794), 232.
ring, 491.
Whitefield in Georgia, 126.
Whitman, Dr., and Oregon, 347.
Whitney invents the cotton-gin, 229.
Williams, Roger, driven from Massachusetts, 72, 73.
settles Providence, 104.
establishes entire religious liberty, 106.
secures a liberal charter for Rhode Island, 106.
Wilmot Proviso, the, 355.

Winthrop, Governor, 69.
Wisconsin admitted, 361.
Witchcraft in Salem, 83, 84.
Wolfe takes Quebec (1759), 140.
Woman Suffrage, 355, 510.
World's Fair (1853), 371.
(1876), 492.
(1893), 515.
"Writs of Assistance," 164.
Wyoming admitted, 510.

X. Y. Z. Papers, the, 238.

York, the Duke of, seizes New Netherland, 48.
seizes Delaware, 108.
Yorktown, capture of, 207.

Zenger upholds the freedom of the press, 53.